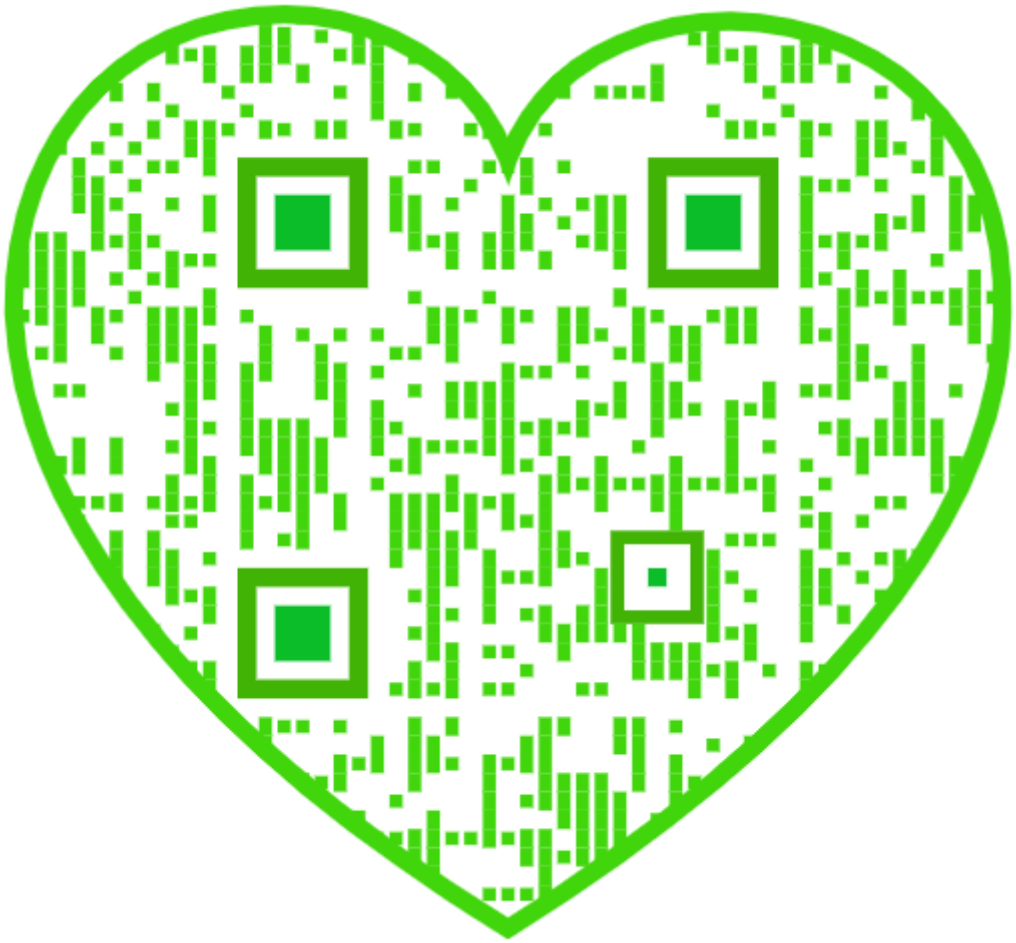

AMERICAN POLITICAL HISTORY

To the Death of Lincoln

POPULARLY TOLD

BY

VIOLA A. CONKLIN

NEW YORK
HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY
1901

THE LIBRARY OF
CONGRESS.
TWO COPIES RECEIVED
NOV. 13 1901
COPYRIGHT ENTRY
Nov. 1-1901
CLASS a XXc. No.
20141
COPY B.

Copyright, 1901,
BY
HENRY HOLT & CO.

E183
.C75

To the Memory

OF MY FATHER

GEORGE PECKHAM

PREFACE

THE American people have recently awakened to the fact that they have a past of peculiar interest. United States' History has been declared "dry and stupid and nothing but dates," but it is now realized that these dates are important landmarks in the world's progress. All can recall their enjoyment in the study of other lands — of India with its Oriental charm and stirring tales of English valor; of Greece, the home of art and beauty, the abode of gods who so charmingly personified mortal passions; of Imperial Rome crowning the seven hills with her majestic temples and palaces, and civilizing western Europe; of Italy in the Renaissance; of France under the great Louis and the greater Napoleon; and of England through long years building, stone by stone, the firm foundations of constitutional monarchy. To an imagination fired by these glowing pictures, the backwoodsman in his log-cabin, the Indian fierce and repulsive, the stern Puritan who robbed life of grace and beauty, seemed in comparison very commonplace. But history is no longer a mere record of wars and court intrigues; from the scenic splendor of the past have emerged the forgotten people; in the light of evolution we realize the working out of great principles, and history is no more a glittering pageant, but the irresistible upward movement of mankind. Thus viewed, the history of the United States becomes of deepest interest; for this young nation, freed from the trammels of the past,

has been striving to solve those great problems which make for the advancement of the race. Perchance we are inclined to smile at that gigantic bronze figure with the uplifted torch, but nevertheless it represents our national idea — Liberty Enlightening the World.

Every book, it has been said, should have a preface wherein is offered an apology for presenting another literary venture. The excuse for this volume is the newly awakened interest in our country's past. It owes its origin to a course of parlor lectures which resulted from the remark of a cultured woman who entered actively into the opportunities of her New York life. "I have attended," she declared, "parlor classes for the study of the great men, the historical epochs, the music, the art, the literature, and even the drama of nearly every land of Europe, but remain lamentably ignorant of the history of my own country. Write a course of lectures upon the political history of the United States and I promise to form a class of women all as ill-informed as I am, and equally anxious to learn." It was an appeal that demanded compliance, and the interest aroused by the lectures suggested a fuller treatment of the subject in a more permanent form.

The thanks of the author are due to Professor E. G. Bourne, of Yale University, for some suggestions made after reading the manuscript. The book is sent forth in the hope that it will meet the demand for a concise account of our political history, and that it may prove of value to the man who votes, and to the woman who often influences the voter.

PLAINFIELD, NEW JERSEY,
September, 1901.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

THE OLD DOMINION

The town-meeting — isolation of the colonies — contrast presented by Virginia and Massachusetts — first representative assembly convened in America — ballot granted to every freeman — social conditions — tyrannical measures of Governor Berkeley — Charles II. bestows the colony upon two of his favorites — Bacon's Rebellion — Berkeley's recall — the English Navigation Laws 1

CHAPTER II

THE NEW ENGLAND THEOCRACY

The New England Theocracy — the school and the town-meeting — restricted suffrage — influence of Puritanism — "The United Colonies of New England" — Thomas Hooker founds Hartford — Connecticut adopts the first American constitution — New Haven — Roger Williams and the charter of Rhode Island — the right of taxation secured to the people — John Winthrop — Boston, not London, the seat of government — Charles II. attempts to subdue the independent colony — charter of Massachusetts annulled — tyrannical measures of Governor Andros — new charter granted by William and Mary 12

CHAPTER III

BEGINNING OF THE STRUGGLE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY

England's colonies involved in her continental wars — the advance of constitutional liberty in England and America — Massachusett's refusal to pay the royal governor a fixed salary — the Albany Plan — Writs of Assistance — Declaratory Resolves

— indignation in America — Samuel Adams — action of the Boston town-meeting — passage of the Stamp Act — speech of Isaac Barré — Patrick Henry in the House of Burgesses — an American Congress meets at New York — resistance to the Stamp Act — the American question debated in Parliament — speeches of William Pitt, George Grenville and Lord Mansfield — repeal of the Stamp Act 23

CHAPTER IV

A United Resistance

The American position as stated by Lecky — Townshend Revenue Act — Macaulay's account of the "King's friends" — non-importation societies — Farmer's Letters — the circular letter — colonial assemblies dissolved — seizure of the sloop Liberty — the great town-meeting — arrival of English troops at Boston — town refuses them quarters — proscription of importers — letters of Vindex — Boston Massacre — "Sam Adams' Regiments" — repeal of Townshend taxes except that on tea — breaking the non-importation act — destruction of the *Gaspee* — Committee of Correspondence — destruction of the tea in Boston Harbor — five retaliatory measures adopted by Parliament — speeches of Edmund Burke and Lord Chatham — Gage made governor of Massachusetts 43

CHAPTER V

A Continental Question

The Continental question — Boston Port Bill — donations and letters to the Donation Committee — Regulating Act — Mandamus Counsellors — Provincial Congress of Massachusetts — Committee of Safety — Minute-men — address by Dr. Joseph Warren — conditions in New York and Pennsylvania — Samuel Adams carries through the election of delegates to the Continental Congress — Measures of this Congress — Suffolk Resolves — "The Association of the United Colonies" — Chatham's praise of the papers presented by the Continental Congress — the Bill of Rights — speeches by Lord Chatham and Edmund Burke — orders to arrest Adams and Hancock and send them to England for trial — Benjamin Franklin — all hope of peace at an end . 68

CHAPTER VI

The Revolution

Battle of Lexington — the Great Virginian — Second Continental Congress — an address to the king — war measures in both countries — the American flag — Thomas Paine's pamphlet "Common Sense" — address of the Boston town-meeting — motion in Congress for independence — committee appointed to draft a declaration — Dickinson's speech — motion carried and Declaration of Independence adopted — sentiments of the people — Plan of Confederation — the political situation — Lafayette's opinion of the American troops — French Alliance — English Commissioners to America — efforts to end the war — death of Lord Chatham — the King and Lord North receive the news from Yorktown — renewed efforts for peace — Treaty of Peace. 85

CHAPTER VII

The Confederation

The "Critical Period" — Refugees — Society of the Cincinnati — North-West Territory — Ordinance of 1787 — State of Franklin — Weakness of the Confederation — Newburgh Letter — Washington's circular letter — Washington retires to Mount Vernon — efforts to negotiate Treaties of Commerce — John Adams at the English Court — religious liberty assured — Yankee invention — the Treasury Department — Robert Morris — variable and debased coinage — national currency — condition of the country — States adopt tariff duties — George Clinton — Fiat money — Shays's Rebellion — Constitutional Convention called. 107

CHAPTER VIII

The Constitution and the First Election

Framing of the Constitution — its adoption by the States — Amendments — the "Federalist" — launching the Ship of State — acts of Congress — the Republican Court — Washington's visit to Boston — John Jay — Alexander Hamilton — Hamilton's Reports — funding and assumption — States admitted — excise — Whiskey Insurrection — Bank of the United States — mint es-

tablished — Tammany Society receives a delegation of Creek Indians — Indian war in the North-West — rise of the Republican Party — Philip Fréneau — Hamilton's measures attacked — Fugitive Slave Law 133

CHAPTER IX

Presidency of George Washington

Washington's second term — foreign relations — wild enthusiasm for the French Republic — American neutrality — the Genêt affair — Jay Treaty — Congress affronts Washington — attempts to defeat the execution of the treaty — Fisher Ames' great speech — Jay elected governor of New York — newspapers abuse Washington — Washington's Farewell Address 162

CHAPTER X

Presidency of John Adams

John Adams President — Monroe recalled from France — America and France on the verge of war — X. Y. Z. dispatches — Alien and Sedition Acts — Nullification — Fries' Rebellion — Washington appointed Commander-in-chief of the army — war prevented — origin of Spoliation claims — death of Washington — election of President passes to the House of Representatives — Burr's intrigues — Adams and the Federalists — John Marshall — makers of the nation 174

CHAPTER XI

Presidency of Thomas Jefferson

Thomas Jefferson President — retrenchment — removals from office — the President's cabinet — Ohio admitted — West-Point established — twelfth amendment adopted — purchase of Louisiana — war with the Barbary States — Burr-Hamilton duel — Jefferson's reëlection — effect of the European war upon the United States — seizure and impressment — the "Mosquito Fleet" — *Chesapeake* fired upon by the *Leopard* — Embargo — Enforcing Act — repeal — Burr tried for treason — act to prevent the importation of slaves — John Randolph and the "Quids" . . 187

CHAPTER XII

Presidency of James Madison

James Madison President — Albert Gallatin — America further embroiled with England — Macon's Bill No. 2 — Napoleon's clever interpretation of the bill — United States Bank refused a renewal of its charter — the "previous question" — the "War-Hawks" — Henry Clay — preparations for war — Madison's second term — Ninety days embargo — War of 1812 — Treaty of Ghent — Hartford Convention — Congress charters another Bank of the United States — Louisiana admitted 206

CHAPTER XIII

Presidency of James Monroe

James Monroe President — Era of Good Feeling — Eli Whitney — the Cotton-gin — admission of Maine and Missouri — contest in Congress — Missouri Compromise — Monroe doctrine — John Quincy Adams Secretary of State — Seminole War — Florida purchased from Spain — Adams and the British Minister — Clay's "American System" — the National Road — John C. Calhoun — bitterness of the presidential campaign — election of a President passes to the House of Representatives 220

CHAPTER XIV

Presidency of John Quincy Adams

John Quincy Adams President — his diary — the Jackson faction — Clay Secretary of State — "bargain and corruption" charge — death of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams — Webster's address at the memorial services — Webster and his message to his countrymen — Adams averse to removals from office — New York's political machine — Clay-Randolph duel — National Republicans and Democrats 238

CHAPTER XV

Presidency of Andrew Jackson

Andrew Jackson President — changes in the civil service — the "Kitchen Cabinet" — a cabinet officer's wife causes serious com-

plications — the "Tariff of Abominations" — state rights refuted — South Carolina and Nullification — Webster's reply to Hayne — tariff of 1832 — South Carolina passes nullification ordinance — President acts promptly — Clay's Compromise Bill — Jackson and the United States Bank — Jackson's veto of the bank charter — Anti-Masonic Party — Jackson reëlected — removal of the bank deposits — ruin of the bank — abolition crusade — William Lloyd Garrison — Wendell Phillips — petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia — John Quincy Adams' great fight for the right of petition — death of John Quincy Adams — Texas becomes independent — rise of the "Whigs" — the "Loco Focos" — the question of expunging 251

CHAPTER XVI

PRESIDENCIES OF MARTIN VAN BUREN, WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON AND JOHN TYLER

From Jackson to Lincoln — Martin Van Buren — panic of 1837 — Independent or Sub-Treasury — the Whig campaign — Harrison's inauguration — his death — Tyler becomes President — Sub-Treasury Law repealed — efforts to establish a national bank — Treaty of Washington — new tariff bills — advance of abolition movement — excitement over the return of fugitive slaves — case of George Latimer — effort to annex Texas — popularity of Clay — the Raleigh Letter — Native American Party — Freesoil Party — the Alabama Letters — grief at Clay's defeat — Texas admitted as a state 283

CHAPTER XVII

PRESIDENCY OF JAMES K. POLK

James K. Polk inaugurated — tariff bill of 1846 — Sub-Treasury reëstablished — Naval Academy founded — Department of Interior created — the north-west boundary — "54-40 or fight" — efforts to purchase California — the Mexican War — Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo — contest in Congress — Wilmot Proviso — government for Oregon Territory 296

CHAPTER XVIII

Presidency of Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore

Zachary Taylor inaugurated — question of slavery in California — gold discovered in that state — state constitution adopted — excitement in Congress over the admission of California — Compromise of 1850 — speeches of Clay, Calhoun, Webster and William H. Seward — the North indignant with Webster — Clayton-Bulwer Treaty — death of the President — Fillmore succeeds him — Compromise Bill passed — the fugitive slave law — arguments advanced by the friends and the opponents of slavery — complexity of the question — "Uncle Tom's Cabin" — death of Daniel Webster 303

CHAPTER XIX

Presidency of Franklin Pierce

Franklin Pierce inaugurated — Stephen A. Douglas — Kansas-Nebraska Bill — "Squatter Sovereignty" — repeal of the Missouri Compromise — speeches of William H. Seward, Edward Everett, Salmon P. Chase and Charles Sumner — excitement throughout the country — Douglas carries through his bill — excitement in Boston over Anthony Burns — personal liberty bills — expansionists desire Cuba — rise of the Republican Party — the Underground Railroad — Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society — the Kansas Conflict — "The Crime Against Kansas" — Sumner assaulted by Brooks — "Know-Nothings" — "A Geographical Campaign" 319

CHAPTER XX

Presidency of James Buchanan

Review of the political situation — Dred Scott decision — Buchanan's Cabinet — Abraham Lincoln's reply to Douglas — panic of 1857 — efforts to obtain possession of Cuba — South desired an increase of negroes — struggle over the Lecompton Constitution in and out of Congress — Lecompton Jr. — efforts of Kansas to gain admission to the Union — Abraham Lincoln

— Lincoln-Douglas Debates — the "irrepressible conflict" — John Brown — attack on Harper's Ferry — Brown's trial and execution — treasonable utterances in Congress — Lincoln's Cooper Union Speech — National Conventions nominate presidential candidates — Wide-Awake Clubs — Abraham Lincoln elected — South Carolina secedes — Confederate States of America — Two speeches by Alexander H. Stephens — weakness of the President — Crittenden Compromise — Thirteenth Amendment — efforts to relieve Fort Sumter — reorganization of the Cabinet — public opinion North and South — Lincoln's plea for peace in his inaugural address 335

CHAPTER XXI

PRESIDENCY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Lincoln's policy — the Cabinet — relief of Sumter — Southern Commissioners in Washington — Charleston prepares for resistance — bombardment of Sumter — surrender of the fort — the North aroused — President calls for troops — extra session of Congress — Lincoln denies the right of a State to secede — the right of Revolution — conditions North and South — immense armies in the field — financial measures — loan bill — Legal Tender Act — enormous expenditures — fractional currency — fluctuation of gold — depreciation of the greenback — Legal Tender Act unconstitutional — national banking act — efforts to retain the Border States in the Union — suspension of the writ of Habeas Corpus — "war powers" of the President — dissatisfaction of extremists — Confiscation Act — southern sequestration act — "Contrabands" — Fremont in Missouri — Congress prohibits slavery in the territories and District of Columbia — efforts to induce loyal slave States to emancipate — General Hunter's order — Emancipation Proclamation — thirteenth amendment — colored troops 375

CHAPTER XXII

PRESIDENCY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

The struggle between North and South as viewed by Europe — England's friendliness toward the South — Charles Francis

Adams — speech of John Bright — cotton famine — the "bubble of Democracy" — affair of the "Trent" — building of Confederate Privateers in English ship-yards — the "Alabama" — the Geneva Award — election of 1862 — "copperheads" — conscription act — draft riot in New York — turning of the tide — cabinet changes — reconstruction — Proclamation of Amnesty — Amnesty Bill vetoed by the President — presidential nominations — peace missions — Lincoln's second inaugural address — last scenes of the war — letter of James Russell Lowell — assassination of the President — greatness of Abraham Lincoln — a message to the American people 398

CHAPTER I

THE OLD DOMINION

THE government of the United States is the most perfect form of a Federal Republic that the world has ever known. It was not a special creation. It is an outgrowth of those great principles of self-government and representative government which the Anglo-Saxon received as a priceless legacy from the tungemot and shire-motes of his Teutonic ancestry, and which have made the English-speaking race the standard-bearer of constitutional liberty throughout the world.

The key-note of the political system of the United States is the town-meeting, an institution seen in perfection only in New England, although some form of the town-meeting principle is the basis of every state government and underlies the whole political life of the nation. Thomas Jefferson said: "Those wards called townships in New England have proved themselves the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government and for its preservation." That this impress was given to her political life was owing, to a great extent, to the superior character and intelligence of the early settlers of New England. They divided the land into towns, or districts, within which limit they adapted the principles of the old English town government to the needs of a new country and changed conditions. The people of

each town directly govern themselves. At least once each year is held a town-meeting, at which every man in the town, twenty-one years of age and upward, is expected to be present, to vote, and, if he so desire, to take part in the discussion. At this meeting all local affairs are passed in review, appropriations of money are made, taxes determined and officers appointed to conduct the business of the town for the coming year. As population increases there are, necessarily, many changes in this plan. In cities the primary is but a town-meeting in miniature. Delegates are there elected to attend City, County or State Conventions, at which larger meetings the candidates for City, County or State offices are nominated to be voted for by the people at large. Thus the democratic principle is retained and the people are kept in direct contact with government. We can readily understand Mr. Fiske when he declares: "That without the town-meeting, or its equivalent in some form or other, the Federal Union would be converted into a centralizing imperial government." As it is there are forty-five independent States, each with a perfectly organized democratic government, working in perfect harmony within the bonds of the Federal Republic, and so united forming a great and powerful nation. But this feeling of nationality was of slow growth. Previous to the Revolution it did not exist, for long after it was a weak sentiment, but finally the hammer-strokes of the Civil War welded the States into a nation. That this should have been the case was natural, for the thirteen colonies were politically independent of each other, and further separated by natural barriers and differences of religious opinion, so important a factor in those days. The New England Puritans had nothing in common with the Quakers of Pennsylvania, the Catholics of

Maryland, or the Episcopalians of Virginia; while the Dutch of New York, with smaller settlements of Swedes, Germans and French Huguenots, added other elements of contrast. Furthermore, as all the colonies had free access to the sea, they were commercially independent of each other, and as there were no bridges over the great rivers and few roads through the vast forests, communication was difficult and often dangerous. But the majority of the colonists were of the English race who had received, as has been said, the principles of constitutional liberty as a birthright, and when these rights were attacked by the British government, colonies so dissimilar as Massachusetts and Virginia joined in resistance. It is in these two, the largest, wealthiest, and most influential divisions of England's possessions in the new world, that we must study in detail the preliminaries of the American Revolution.

In order to understand fully the principles for which the Americans contended in that long struggle, we must briefly review the earlier colonial period, consider the conditions under which the colonies were established, and note the influence of their peculiar environment. We shall find that in the perfect freedom of their new life, widely removed from king and parliament, the church and courts of law, liberty of thought and action grew apace. Men became imbued with an independence and self-reliance, which enabled them to successfully withstand the perils and hardships they encountered in the wilderness, but which did not conduce to a humble and obedient frame of mind towards those who, by the laws of the realm, were placed in authority over them.

Virginia and Massachusetts, alike in a population more purely English than was to be found in the other colonies, present a striking contrast in social conditions,

The Virginian upon his vast estate, so far as circumstances permitted, patterned his mode of life after that of the landed gentry of England, and he is a picturesque and charming figure. He ruled a little kingdom of his own, for of necessity many industries were conducted under his direction to supply the needs of his numerous dependents. He was a man of affairs and of many social graces, having, probably, been educated abroad, and thus seen something of the great world. These conditions produced men of fine executive ability, destined to be distinguished in the public service as were Washington, Jefferson, Henry, Madison and Marshall, but the common people were inferior, among them being many indentured servants and transported convicts. The early introduction of slave labor (1619) brought its own punishment, for servile labor debases free labor; as negro slavery increased, the poor white inevitably sank in the social scale. Owing to the large plantations the population was scattered, and as there were few villages, a common-school system of education became impossible. The prevailing ignorance, the conditions of labor, and the large number of undesirable emigrants, resulted in forming a class which later became known as "white trash." We shall find in Virginia the independent planters in the House of Burgesses defending their rights and privileges against English agression, but as we shall see, in New England it was the people, the men trained in the district-school and the town-meeting, who stood beside their leaders boldly resisting oppression.

The colonies of Virginia and Massachusetts were established by London Stock Companies under royal charters. It is not necessary to enter into details regarding these charters, except in those points which established a precedent for future political procedure, or which called

forth resistance to established authority and thus foreshadowed the future struggle for complete independence.

The first representative assembly convened in America met at Jamestown, Virginia, July 30, 1619. This privilege of self-government was secured by the efforts of a few broad-minded men in the London Company, who sincerely desired to further the interests of the discontented colonists, then demanding a voice in the management of their own affairs. Twenty-two representatives were elected, and with the governor and his council, formed the House of Burgesses. In 1680 the representatives withdrew from the governor and council and thereafter the assembly consisted of two houses, as in the legislatures of the present day. At an early date in each colony arose a representative assembly the "Commons of America." At first the commons met with the governor and his council, but after a time, these assemblies were in almost all cases divided, the governor and his council forming one house, the representatives elected by the people the other.

The House of Burgesses had ample authority to legislate for the colony, but their acts became valid only when approved by the Company; as an offset to this check, no measure affecting the colony adopted by the Company could become law, until sanctioned by the House of Burgesses. In 1621 these provisions of the London Company were confirmed by a new charter which, in addition, secured to Virginia the procedure of the English Judiciary. "The system of representative government and trial by jury," says Bancroft, "thus became in the new hemisphere an acknowledged right. On this ordinance Virginia erected the superstructure of her liberties. Its influences were wide and enduring. . . It

constituted the plantation, in its infancy, a nursery of freeman."

When the charter of the London Company was annulled (June 16, 1624) the ruin of the Company did not involve Virginia, for self-government had gained a firm foothold and its representative assembly was prepared to protect the rights of the colonists. In all the colonies there was constant friction during the entire colonial period, between the royal governors and the representative assemblies, but these contentions educated the people upon political questions. Virginia bore her share of these troubles, but, on the whole, until the restoration, enjoyed a fair measure of liberty to which the disturbed state of English politics largely contributed.

In 1656 the House of Burgesses granted the ballot to every freeman, declaring it to be "unagreeable to reason, that any person shall pay equal taxes, and yet have no vote in elections." This was the first attempt in America to establish universal suffrage.

The colony was very prosperous, the wealth of the planters increased, the great crops of tobacco being an unfailing source of revenue, although subject to extreme fluctuations. Following the execution of Charles I., in 1649, there was a large accession of cavaliers who formed an important addition to the aristocracy of the province. The Virginian, unlike the New England Puritan, entertained no lurking bitterness against the mother-country, a legacy from the religious persecutions of an earlier day; he had left the old home to better his condition, and even convicts and indentured servants sent to the colony found their hard lot ameliorated. The planter was generally a royalist and a good churchman. By the closeness of trade relations he kept in touch with the England of his day. As the country abounded in rivers,

ships, in most cases, took his tobacco from his own dock and also landed there the merchandise sent out to his order by his London agent. Virginia, with its Anglican church, its great estates held intact by laws of primogeniture and entail, its fox-hunting squires dispensing a wide hospitality, its horse-races and other out-door sports, was more representative of English social life than any American colony.

It was an environment favorable to the growth of an aristocracy, and the House of Burgesses elected after the accession of Charles II., was largely composed of the landed gentry. Under the lead of Sir William Berkeley, the royal governor, they remained in authority for fifteen years (1661-1676). This was accomplished by the clever device of adjourning from year to year, Berkeley, meanwhile, refusing to issue the necessary writs for the biennial elections. This body effected striking political changes. Stringent laws were passed to secure conformity to the established church; teachers were required to be of the Episcopal faith, and marriages must be solemnized by the ritual of the prayer-book. All persons were taxed for the support of the church, and in each parish twelve vestry-men acted as assessors. They were now given power to fill all vacancies in their number, and they thus became a close corporation, over which the parish lost all control. In 1670 the suffrage was restricted, it being enacted that "none but freeholders and housekeepers shall hereafter have a voice in the election of any burgesses"; a large body of colonists were thus deprived of their liberties by the act of their representatives. Political power had passed into the hands of a dominant class, the people were burdened by heavy taxes and suffering from abuses they were powerless to remedy; but in this new world, liberty was felt to be a

natural right, and their discontent found voice in that uprising known as Bacon's Rebellion. True, other causes served to inflame the people; a constant source of complaint was the severity of the English Navigation Laws: moreover the king, who had been so joyously proclaimed on his accession, had angered and estranged the once loyal colonists. Careless of their welfare, he appointed worthless courtiers to positions of trust in the colony and in 1673 bestowed the so-called "kingdom of Virginia" upon two of his favorites, Lord Culpepper and the Earl of Arlington, for the term of thirty-one years, placing the administration of the colony in the hands of the new proprietors.[1] It needed but a spark to kindle rebellion, and this was supplied by an Indian outbreak (1676), which Berkeley failed to suppress. The man for the hour was not wanting, and Nathaniel Bacon stepped forth, not only to lead the people against their savage foes, but to attempt the redress of grievances and the recovery of their lost liberties.

Nathaniel Bacon was a young man of birth, culture, and furtune, who had been in Virginia less than two years, but who felt a generous sympathy for the oppressed colonists. He died within six months after taking command of the little band of malcontents, but not before he had conquered the savages and turned his attention to the government. The rebellion collapsed at the death of its leader, and Berkeley proceeded to hang the chief rebels. His severity angered the king who ex-

[1] Lord Culpepper subsequently bought out the Earl of Arlington. Culpepper was a most unpopular governor, and the king removed him in 1684, after four years of misrule. The king confirmed Culpepper's title to a previous land grant in Virginia, known as the Northern Neck, and he further received, for relinquishing all claims to Virginia, an annual sum of £600 for thirty years.

claimed: — "As I live, the old fool has put to death more people in that naked country than I did here for the murder of my father." The king recalled him, and bonfires and salutes of cannon testified to the joy with which the Virginians witnessed the departure of the rapacious, cruel, and tyrannical old man, who, for many years had ruled over them. One result of the rebellion had been the dissolution of the "Long Assembly," and the king now issued fresh instructions for the administration of the colony. Every aristocratic feature of the government was retained. The suffrage continued restricted to freeholders; the self-perpetuating vestries were unchanged; the House of Burgesses was to be convened once in two years, and to sit but fourteen days, unless for special reasons. Henceforth there was continual wrangling between the Royal governors and the House of Burgesses, with the result of intensifying the independent spirit of the members. The Burgesses always resisted any attempted infringement of one of the earliest statutes (1624) passed by that body — "The governors shall not lay any taxes or imposition upon the colony, their lands or commodities, otherway than by the authority of the general assembly, to be levied and employed as the said assembly shall appoint." In Virginia, as in New England, the control of taxation was recognized as a right to be zealously guarded.

Those parliamentary statutes known as the English Navigation Laws constantly aroused ill-feeling toward the mother-country. They bore very heavily upon Virginia, for the colony was dependent upon her one staple — tobacco, which was not only a commodity, but the currency of the country, circulating as specie. With no manufactures and no ship-building, Virginia was unable to retaliate upon the rapacious British merchants, who

upheld the most stringent commercial laws. The reply of Sir Edward Seymour to Rev. James Blair expressed the popular opinion of the day. Blair was endeavoring to raise money in London to found the college of William and Mary in Virginia. He stated that the college would educate young men for the church and advanced the plea that there were souls to save in Virginia, as well as in England. "Souls! damn your souls! Grow tobacco!" exclaimed the Commissioner of the Treasury.

England, ambitious to become a great commercial power, looked with a jealous eye upon the little state of Holland, her rival in trade, and the first navigation act, passed in 1651, was an attempt to cripple the Dutch carrying trade. By this ordinance, goods could only be imported into England in English ships or the ships of those nations that produced the goods. Upon the accession of Charles II. a new act was passed, which not only protected the shippers but the English merchants as well, by securing to the latter a monopoly of the colonial trade. It was enacted that "no goods or commodities whatsoever" should be imported into or exported from any of the king's colonies, save in English or colonial vessels, navigated by Englishmen, under penalty of forfeiture of ships and goods. The colonial ports were thus closed to all foreign vessels. It was further declared that sugar, tobacco, ginger, indigo, cotton, fustic and other dyeing woods, should not be exported to any places other than those belonging to the crown of England, under penalty of a like forfeiture. As new industries grew up in America they were added to this list. In 1663 a new act prohibited the importation of European goods into the colonies except in English ships *sailing from* England. The Americans were thus compelled to purchase all that they desired from the merchants of England, whether the

goods were of British or of foreign production; to these same tradesmen they must dispose of their own commodities, in a market where they had no means of retaliating though forced to sell at the lowest rates and buy at the highest. Parliament continued to pass these unjust measures until in all there were twenty-nine enactments. This unwise policy was a leading cause of the American Revolution. England monopolized her own colonial trade and her merchants throve at the expense of the American producers. But owing to the natural wealth of a new country and the vigor of the English race, the colonists prospered, notwithstanding the restrictions by which their commerce was hampered.

CHAPTER II

THE NEW ENGLAND THEOCRACY

When we turn from Virginia to New England we are impressed by the striking contrast presented by these two colonies, peopled by the same race. The Puritan faith was hard and narrow, but it possessed a concentration of purpose, an intensity of conviction, a realization of the value of the human soul and its accountability to God, that have made Puritanism the greatest political force in modern history. The Puritan's burning zeal, repressed beneath a cold exterior, found vent in fighting for the advancement of the kingdom of God in the world about him. The Puritans of New England had no intention of establishing religious liberty in the New World; they viewed all laxness of doctrine with horror. They desired to establish a theocracy, a government founded upon the word of God as attested by the old Jewish dispensation. Meekness and loving charity as set forth in the New Testament did not appeal to those rugged natures; but, strangely enough, this militant Christianity made possible the religious freedom of the present day. The New England theocracy is unique in the history of governments. It united church and state in a close political bond, for suffrage was restricted to those in full church-membership, and this could only be obtained by passing a rigid examination in religious

tenets.[1] It did not, however, create a church establishment, as all the New England churches were congregational, each managing its own affairs with perfect independence. The ministers were paid by the towns; they could hold no political office, but such was the respect entertained for their vocation and high character that the Puritan divines always possessed great influence in public affairs.

As the Puritan must search the Scriptures for daily guidance, he must be able to read the sacred word understandingly, and so he established the school-house, in company with the church, in every hamlet. In 1636, six years after the settlement of Boston, the colony of Massachusetts Bay founded Harvard College, voting the money for that purpose from their own poor treasury. Eleven years later (1647) they established by law a common school system throughout the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. It was ordered that every town, "after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within the town to teach all such children as shall resort to them to write and read" . . . "when any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the University." That "political training school," the town-meeting, by which was instituted a perfect form of democratic government, has already been described.

As the basis of society was the church congregation, the conditions were favorable to the growth of towns, and villages with outlying farms. The rugged soil obliged all men to labor, and there being no great staple,

[1] There were exceptions, notably at Hartford and Providence where suffrage was never restricted to church members.

small holdings were general. The long line of coast encouraged a race of sailors and Massachusetts became prosperous in fisheries, ship-building, and the coasting-trade.

Those distinctive features of the New England commonwealths, the town-meeting, and the common school, educated the people to a wide liberty of thought, and strangely enough, their grim religion tended to a like result. The Puritan took his theology strong and hot, but he thought for himself. In the bitter New England winter, he sat in an unheated church, an attentive listener to a sermon, frequently of two hours' length, perchance, armed with a note-book, wherein he jotted down knotty points of doctrine for future discussion. The more complex the question the more truly enjoyable it proved; a contested statement in theology often engaged the attention of the entire community. The ecclesiastical synod convened at Newtown in the autumn of 1637 condemned eighty-two disputed opinions over which the good people of Boston were in a ferment. Such intellectual training never produced a race of dullards.

The settlers of New England were a superior class, educated, moral, and animated by a high purpose. Among them were many university men and the greater number were of good family. They viewed life with the seriousness engendered by their stern faith. While their persecuting spirit cannot be excused, we must, in justice, remember that it was common to all nations in their day. We should realize that in New England Puritanism represented not alone a Calvinistic creed, but civil liberty as well. Whatsoever threatened the church, affected the state, for religion was the animating spirit of public as well as private life. The weak point in the political system of Massachusetts was the

restriction of the suffrage to church members in full communion. This was necessary in order to maintain the theocracy, but was in direct opposition to the democratic principles upon which rested the authority of the town meeting, and in fact during a period of thirty-three years (1631-1664) the town meeting was a church meeting. Political power passed into the hands of a minority, and a favored class arose, not an aristocracy of opulent landowners as in Virginia, but rather an aristocracy of the saints, of the "elect" predestined to salvation. Naturally, there was an ever increasing discontent among the disfranchised. That the theocracy was maintained for upwards of fifty years, was owing to the intensity of the religious spirit among all classes, and to the superior leadership of the clergy.

In the present day of mild creeds and wide toleration, the severity of life among the early Puritans seems most unlovely. Natural gayety found no place amid the prayers, psalm-singing and sermons; the two services of the Sabbath were supplemented by an additional sermon known as the weekly lecture. The meeting-house offered no ceremonial; marriage was a civil function and the dead were laid to rest in silence. There were fast days but no holiday save Thanksgiving. Dancing and card-playing were unknown, and as for light literature it was replaced by the election sermon and the theological treatise. But we should ever remember that to these stern old Calvinists we owe the security of American liberty. After the early Puritan exodus, New England received few accessions to her population from outside, but so prolific were the families of the early Puritans that there was a rapid growth in population. After the Revolution their descendants migrated to New York and beyond to the Middle West; wherever they settled they established

the free school and the democratic principles of the town meeting and thus left an indelible impress upon the nation.

The early colonists were in constant dread of the Indians and for more effectual defense against the common foe Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven formed in 1643 a league — "The United Colonies of New England." In this alliance were included thirty-nine towns and an aggregate population of twenty-four thousand, Massachusetts having fifteen thousand of this number. Eight commissioners, two from each colony, met annually and not only planned for the general safety but adjusted differences that arose between the colonies. They were little more than a consulting board, for they had no means of enforcing their decisions, but they smoothed out many difficulties and more firmly bound the colonies together. The New England Confederacy was viewed with distrust in England, for this unauthorized union was held to be an assumption of self-government that savored of disloyalty. In explanation the colonists averred that their danger was imminent and England too far distant to protect them, they must combine for defense if they were not to be destroyed.

Dissatisfaction with the restricted suffrage was soon manifested in Massachusetts. Thomas Hooker, a saintly and eloquent divine, pastor of the church at Newtown, was a man of liberal views. Desiring a wider liberty, he decided to form a new settlement, and with his congregation of one hundred souls journeyed through the wilderness until he reached the Connecticut where he founded Hartford (1636), which soon became a prosperous community. Hooker was one of the first to formulate those democratic principles upon which the American republic was subsequently established. Seven

months before the adoption of the Connecticut constitution he preached a sermon in which he declared: "the foundation of authority is laid in the free consent of the people," and further: "They who have power to appoint officers and magistrates, it is in their power, also, to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place unto which they call them." Thus in this new political creed the people were not only to select their rulers but to determine their authority. On January 14, 1639, the united towns of Hartford, Windsor and Weathersfield adopted a constitution which was the first American constitution forming a government. It established a federal republic in miniature: the control of the towns was intrusted to their own citizens, while the governor, magistrates and other officers of the colony were elected by a general ballot. Thus the direction of public affairs was placed entirely in the hands of the people. Suffrage was not restricted to church members and the citizens were obliged to swear allegiance only to Connecticut, no mention being anywhere made of king or parliament. In this constitution which served Connecticut until 1818 we find the germ of the Constitution of the United States. The neighboring settlement at New Haven, founded in 1638, was the most austere of the Puritan colonies: not only was suffrage restricted to church members but so closely was the government founded upon the scriptures that trial by jury was rejected, as no warrant for it could be found in the Bible. Rhode Island, on the other hand, was so exceedingly liberal in politics and religion as to have little fellowship with the Puritan communities. There the discontented and persecuted sought a refuge, for Roger Williams, the noble founder of Providence, desired "it to be a shelter for persons distressed for conscience." Roger Will-

iams was a born agitator, but withal gentle and kindly of heart, a clear thinker with a wide outlook and a spirit of liberality far in advance of his time. The Charter for Rhode Island, which he obtained from the Long Parliament in 1644, was so liberal in its provisions that it remained in force until 1842.

In Massachusetts there was a determined advance of democracy in spite of restricted suffrage. A representative assembly was convened in 1634, the second to meet in America. Their charter granted them no such privilege, but the wily Puritans based their authority upon a broad interpretation of a clause in that instrument which stated: "to them were reserved the natural rights of Englishmen." Like the House of Burgesses in Virginia the Massachusetts assembly secured to the people the right of taxation. By a statute passed in 1639 the representatives alone were empowered to assess taxes or dispose of the public funds thus raised. The following incident will give á glimpse of the independent spirit of the people. An attempt was made to increase the powers of the magistrates. The Rev. John Cotton in an election sermon preached against rotation in office, declaring that a just magistrate was as truly entitled to his office as a private man to his freehold. The people of Boston expressed their disapproval of this aristocratic theory by electing a new governor and during the four terms following declining to reëlect. Previously they had each year placed in the chair the most distinguished man in Massachusetts—John Winthrop. The colony, in its first period, was most fortunate in having this great leader, for John Winthrop was a man of firm will and high purpose, a scholar and a gentleman. Winthrop and his associates who were contemplating a settlement in the New World signed on August 26, 1629, at Cam-

bridge, England, an agreement which contained an unusual clause. This reads: "Provided always, that *the whole government* together with the patent for the said Plantation, be first, by an order of Court, legally transferred and established to remain with us and others which shall inhabit upon the said Plantation." These independent spirits were determined to reserve to themselves the control of their government, and this could only be accomplished by retaining possession of the charter and making Boston, not London, the seat of government. This scheme was successful and for upwards of fifty years the Colony of Massachusetts Bay was a semi-independent republic. Again and again efforts were made to deprive the Colony of its charter, but all such attempts were cleverly frustrated. Several causes conduced to this result, distance, the difficulty of communication, and the disturbed politics of England. One of the colonists pithily remarked: "This year ye will go to complain to Parliament, and the next year they will send to see how it is, and the third year the government is changed." But the day of reckoning was inevitable and the accession of Charles II. marks a crisis in Colonial affairs. It is not surprising that the king looked with disapproval upon this colony where the public writs made no mention of his name; where taxes were levied and laws enacted by authority of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; where the public buildings were destitute of the royal arms and the oath of allegiance was supplanted by the Freeman's Oath wherein was no mention of the king or his realm. Upon the plea of commercial necessity these independent colonists coined money and furthermore so determined were they to maintain their religious beliefs undisturbed, that they banished Quakers and other dissentients and refused

to permit the established Church of England to hold services.

Charles II. determined upon the submission of this independent province, and the people of Massachusetts prepared to contest every encroachment upon their privileges. To obtain their freedom they had borne exile, hunger and cold and constant menace from savage foes and had gained their prosperity by hard labor upon the rugged soil and stormy sea. They had confronted not alone danger from abroad but frequently discontent at home, for the restriction of the suffrage was a continual cause of complaint. The dissatisfied demanded that all church members of upright life should be entitled to vote, and it was finally enacted that the ballot should be granted to any Englishman who paid "ten shillings at a single rate" and who presented a certificate from the minister of the town certifying that the holder was orthodox in religion and of good character. The decision still rested with the clergy, as the pastor must grant the certificate, but the terms were less rigid than before.

Charles II. soon made his will known to the colony; their charter was to be respected, but they must take the oath of allegiance, administer justice in the king's name, replace the royal arms, repeal the restrictions upon the suffrage, and permit Episcopalians full liberty to practice their religion. Massachusetts made an indifferent assent, and then failed to comply with the king's commands, whereupon an agent, Sir Edmund Randolph, was sent (1676) to treat with the colony. When Randolph presented the king's letter to Governor Leverett and the assembled council, but three followed the example of Randolph and uncovered; the governor and the other members kept their hats on during the reading of the

royal missive. The struggle terminated when the Charter of Massachusetts was annulled by a decree in Chancery, June 21, 1684. Massachusetts became the property of the king and all rights and privileges were abrogated. The death of Charles II. (1685) occasioned his son, James II., to inaugurate the royal policy for the distressed colony. He sent over Sir Edmund Andros as governor of New England, New York and New Jersey, with headquarters at Boston. Andros was thoroughly detested by the people. He seized the Old South Meeting House and held Episcopal services there until King's Chapel was built three years later. A censor was appointed for the press, the general court was abolished, unjust taxes were laid and finally the power of assessing taxes was taken from the town meeting and assumed by the governor. In the town of Ipswich the people refused to pay a tax thus laid, asserting that the right to tax belonged to the people. Their leader, Rev. John Wise, was arrested, suspended from the ministry, sent to jail and fined, as were others who had joined in resistance. Massachusetts was on the verge of revolt when James II. was driven from the kingdom and William and Mary ascended the throne. William Prince of Orange came from a land where constitutional government was understood and free thought was not feared. In 1692 he granted Massachusetts a new charter and its provisions were, on the whole, favorable to the colony. Her governor was to be appointed by the crown, but Plymouth and Maine were annexed to her territory. The right of the people to a representative assembly was confirmed and also their right to lay taxes. A property qualification alone was required for suffrage, so that happily civil and religious authority were finally separated. Massachusetts was now a royal province and the

usual contentions between the governors sent out from England and the assembly elected by the people were the political conditions by which, as in Virginia, the people were educated for the Revolution that was to set them forever free.

CHAPTER III

BEGINNING OF THE STRUGGLE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY

The American colonies were debarred by distance and the ocean barrier from participating in those continental wars in which England was so frequently engaged during the greatest part of the 17th century. But by 1687 the colonies could no longer preserve their immunity and thenceforth the New World as well as the Old was to be the scene of conflict. France had established prosperous settlements in Canada and her Jesuit missionaries had journeyed through the distant west and aided in planting forts, trading posts and missionary stations upon the Ohio, the Great Lakes and even the Mississippi, on which river the brave La Salle had in 1682 raised the banner of France and taken possession of the country in the name of his king, Louis XIV. The prospect of being confined to the seaboard by an alien people who had possession of the fertile lands to the west caused the English Colonists to view these encroachments with alarm, but hostilities were initiated by the French. With their Indian allies they descended from Canada upon unprotected border settlements, burned them to the ground and massacred the inhabitants. During a period of seventy-four years, dating from 1689, England and France were almost constantly at war and their colonies were involved in the struggle. The Americans, although

their frontier settlements suffered severely, learned year by year something of the science of war and were trained to the use of arms: they were naturally good marksmen, for his trusty musket was the settler's sole defense against the Indian. The last of these conflicts was known as the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) and involved the greater part of Europe. The English government sent a large body of troops to aid the Americans in an attempt to conquer Canada, and the war which had opened in America with Braddock's defeat closed with Wolfe's triumph in the hour of death upon the Heights of Abraham. The long struggle was finally ended by the Treaty of Paris signed in 1763. France lost all of her vast domain in the New World. England was in possession from the Gulf of Mexico to the frozen north and westward to the Mississippi, while Spain received the city of New Orleans with Louisiana, which latter included all the territory lying between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains, to indemnify her for the loss of Florida which she had incurred by her alliance with France.

England's triumph seemed complete when she entered into possession of one-half of the American continent, as it was then known, but in her success lurked elements of discord little suspected by those in authority. The government looked upon the colonies as existing for the enrichment of the mother country; a view of the relation of colonies to the state very generally held at that time. The thought of the day was still strongly imbued with feudal ideas, although the equality of all men before the law was not a new thought to the Englishman and was beginning to have a wider application. We can realize the advance of constitutional government during the past century, as we read the following paragraph from Queen Victoria's speech on the opening of the British Parlia-

ment, January 30, 1900: — "I have watched with cordial satisfaction the gradual development of my greater colonies into self-governing communities. I feel confident that the establishment of the great Federation of Australia will prove advantageous, not only to the colonies concerned but also to the Empire at large." To a sovereign of the eighteenth century such a conception would have been impossible.

In the day of George III. English political life was most corrupt. Among the members of Parliament were those whose constituents were the few laborers of old but insignificant hamlets, while the new and important manufacturing towns, Leeds, Sheffield, Manchester and Birmingham were unrepresented. The good results of the American Revolution were not confined to the New World alone; from the upheaval attending the loss of the colonies there arose in England a movement which, in time, culminated in a reformed political system and ended the disgrace of "rotten boroughs."

In resisting British aggressions the American colonists exhibited those independent traits which were a most precious inheritance from their Anglo-Saxon forefathers. They felt that they were as truly Englishmen as those residing in England and should enjoy all the rights of English citizens. Through their representative assemblies they had maintained the balance of power in spite of constant contentions with the royal governors, and having been comparatively independent during one hundred and fifty years, their ideas of the rights of citizenship had expanded.

The Americans in the beginning of the contest had no thought of separating from the mother country. They were loyal to the great nation of which they formed a part, but their loyalty was not generally recognized

among English politicians, owing to the constant complaints made by the royal governors to the "Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations," a standing committee of the Privy Council having supervision of colonial affairs. Massachusetts in particular was thought to be a turbulent province, as for nearly fifty years there had been a determined resistance to paying the governor a fixed salary. The colonists realized that the governor must be responsible to the people or they would be deprived of all control over him; so year by year the assembly voted him a sufficient sum — it was not the payment to which they objected — and the royal appointee understood that it was within the power of the people to lessen the amount if they saw fit to do so; a most salutary restraint under the circumstances.

The Union of the thriving colonies along the Atlantic seaboard had long been contemplated. The home government considering that military operations could thus be made more effective and also that the independent spirit of the colonists could be more easily curbed: the more far-seeing among the colonists realizing that a Union would afford increased facilities for resisting oppression while furthering the general welfare. There met at Albany in 1754 a congress called to negotiate a treaty of amity with the Six Nations and to devise means of protection against a threatened invasion by the French. This was the earliest attempt to establish concerted action among the colonies and seven responded to the invitation — New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland. To this assembly Benjamin Franklin presented the first definite proposition for a permanent union of the thirteen colonies, and this is known as the "Albany Plan." It proposed the establishment of a federal union form-

ing a government self-sustaining and yet respecting the organized polity of the component parts, a principle embodied later in the Constitution of the United States. The delegates thought well of the plan, adopted it and recommended it to the colonial assemblies, but the people showed little interest; jealousies and trade rivalries stood in the way of its acceptance and no particular action was taken. A common peril was needed to unite the different sections as there was little sympathy between them and no community of interests.

The close of the Seven Years' War left England at liberty to pay closer attention to her vast possessions in America and she immediately adopted a policy that goaded the people to a united resistance. Before the close of the war there had been attempts to more effectually enforce the navigation laws which were evaded in every possibly way, smuggling being extensively practised. In 1761 Charles Paxton, Commissioner of Customs at Boston, petitioned the Superior Court to grant him authority to use writs of assistance in searching for smuggled goods. By these writs officers were empowered to search any house, store or warehouse, making forcible entrance if resisted, and to seize goods believed to have been smuggled. Under these conditions no place was safe from invasion, and the people at once demanded the refusal of the privilege which was authorized by an old law passed during the reign of Charles II. The advocate-general of the colony was a brilliant young lawyer, James Otis. Rather than defend the government he resigned his commission and having done so was retained by the merchants. The first scene of the American Revolution was enacted in the crowded council-chamber of the old Town-House in Boston (February, 1761), when Otis for nearly five hours held his audience spellbound by his impas-

sioned eloquence. Reviewing the whole question he pleaded for the rights of Englishmen against the exercise of arbitrary power, a kind of power, Otis exclaimed: "which cost one king of England his head and another his throne." He argued that such authority was a violation of the constitution: "no act of Parliament," he declared, "can establish such a writ; . . . An act of Parliament against the constitution is void." Describing the injustice and hardships resulting from the navigation acts he denounced the tyranny of taxation without representation. John Adams heard him and noted in his diary: "Otis was a flame of fire." Chief Justice Hutchinson granted the writs of assistance and the spark kindled by Otis smouldered but was not extinguished.

By the Seven Years' War England gained a vast domain, but this conquest entailed a heavy expenditure which added more than £65,000,000 to the national debt. A portion of this great sum had been incurred in defending the colonies, for troops had been sent to their assistance and a fleet to protect their coast. Should not the Americans in simple justice now share the burden of expense and not leave the over-taxed people of Great Britain to bear it alone? A decisive answer was given when on March 9, 1764, the Declaratory Resolves were read in the House of Commons by George Grenville, the prime minister. These were a series of resolutions announcing the intention of the government to raise a revenue in America by means of a tax on stamped paper. Grenville explained that the bill would not be introduced until the next session as he was quite willing to give the colonies, if they saw fit, an opportunity to suggest a more suitable method of taxation. George III. heartily approved of the proposed measure and expressed the opinion that it was a "wise regulation to augment the public

revenues" and "to unite the interests of the most distant possessions of the crown." This latter surmise was quite correct, but the union was not of the nature so confidently anticipated by his majesty.

The news of the contemplated law kindled a blaze in the colonies, particularly in Massachusetts where the fire burned most fiercely. In this controversy the people possessed a great leader — Samuel Adams, of whom it has been said: "He was born and tempered a wedge of steel to split the knot of *lignum vitae* that tied America to England." Adams early displayed a most independent spirit. At the age of twenty-one he received from Harvard College the degree of Master of Arts, and on that occasion selected for the subject of his thesis: "Whether it be lawful to resist the Supreme Magistrate, if the Commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved." This address he calmly read in the presence of the royal governor, the crown officials and the authorities of the college. Adams devoted time and energy to public affairs, but was unthrifty in the management of his private business, and the malt-house inherited from his father's estate was in his hands a failure. He possessed a love of liberty passionate and sincere, and a democratic spirit that enabled him to thoroughly understand and sympathize with the common people. Placing their good and his country's welfare before all else, he was ever careless of honors and emoluments for himself, although a most astute and clever politician. This great patriot is called "The Man of the Town-meeting," a proud title, for from these democratic gatherings emanated that spirit of liberty which eventually established the American Republic.

The colonists rightly considered that the late war, while of benefit to themselves, had resulted in the ag-

grandizement of Great Britain. They asserted that they had suffered severely; farming lands had been laid waste, villages burned, and forts destroyed. They had incurred heavy expenses for defense, and had voluntarily equipped a large body of troops at their own cost. So great had been this expenditure that they had contracted debts for the payment of which their people must be heavily taxed. They had lost thirty thousand men in the field, and spent some three million pounds sterling, one-sixth of which had been contributed by Massachusetts. But the main question related to principles, not payments.

In England it is the House of Commons, and in America the House of Representatives that has authority to loosen or tighten the national purse strings; and this privilege, to dispose of their money as they saw fit, was one of the earliest rights for which the Anglo-Saxon race contended. Grants of money to king and Parliament, or for any use of government must be made by the people themselves or by their representatives; having established this principle, a decided advance was made in political freedom. The colonists had control of taxation through their representative assemblies, and entirely supported their domestic governments; having no representative in the British Parliament, they contended that that body had no right to take their money and vote it away as they saw fit. Their charters secured to them all the rights of Englishmen, but, exclaimed Samuel Adams, "We claim British rights not by charter only; we are born to them." A fundamental principle of the English Constitution was violated when the people were taxed by a body in which they were not represented. That certain large manufacturing towns in England submitted to the outrage simply proved that they lacked an

independent spirit and a just appreciation of political rights. Otis pithily said: "Why ring everlasting changes to the colonists on them? If they are not represented they ought to be." This was the first attempt of Parliament to lay an internal tax in the colonies, for the Americans considered the oppressive Navigation Laws as commercial restrictions for the regulation of trade throughout the empire.

The feeling was intensified in Massachusetts by the fear that Parliament would impose upon them the established church, and assess them for its support; the prospect of a bishop in their midst was contemplated with bitterness. The Puritan clergy recognized the danger, and in vigorous political sermons encouraged resistance. Every phase of the question was discussed in the press and among the people, who soon divided into two parties, the Tories or Loyalists, and the Whigs, speedily to be termed "Patriots" and "Sons of Liberty." The former consisted of crown officials and of that wealthy and conservative class, ever timid in a situation that threatens a disturbance of the existing order. The origin of the Tory party in New England is traced to the discontent among the disfranchised under the Theocracy, who, resenting their exclusion from political life, joined the circle of crown officials. The Whigs represented the great body of colonists; they were independent in spirit, proud of their fair inheritance in the new world, trained to a love of liberty by a wider political freedom than any other people of their day, and determined at any sacrifice to maintain their rights. The first action taken was on May 24, 1764, in the Boston town-meeting when the representatives to the General Court received the instructions of the people. These were presented by Samuel Adams in a paper drafted by him-

self. Stating the situation with great fairness, he asked the pertinent question: "If taxes are laid upon us in any shape without our having a legal representative where they are laid, are we not reduced from the character of free subjects to the miserable state of tributary slaves?" And he closed with a suggestion for combined action among the colonies, "that by the united applications of all who are aggrieved all may happily attain redress." This proposition was acted upon, a circular letter was sent to the colonies, and the assemblies of Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and South Carolina responded to the appeal by adopting, as had Massachusetts, a formal remonstrance against the Stamp Act; needless to add these memorials received scant courtesy from Parliament.

The proposed bill, introduced by Grenville, provided that all bonds, bills, leases, ship's papers, insurance policies and legal documents must be written on stamped paper under penalty of heavy fines. It was signed by the king March 22, 1765, having passed both houses of Parliament with little excitement save for Barré's impassioned outburst. Isaac Barré had been with the army in America and understood the colonial character. Charles Townshend, First Lord of Trade, concluded his remarks in favor of the bill with these words: "And now will these American children, planted by our care, nourished up by our indulgence until they are grown to a good degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms, will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy load of national expense which we lie under?" Undoubtedly Townshend represented the prevalent opinion among English politicians. Barré instantly arose and replied: "Children planted by your care? No! Your oppression planted

them in *America;* they fled from your tyranny into a then uncultivated land, where they were exposed to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable, and, among others, to the savage cruelty of the enemy of the country, — a people the most subtle, and, I take upon me to say, the most truly terrible of any people that ever inhabited any part of GOD'S EARTH; and yet, actuated by principles of true *English* liberty, they met all these hardships with pleasure, compared with those suffered in their own country from the hands of those that should have been their friends. They nourished up by your indulgence? They grew by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule over them, in one department and another, who were perhaps the deputies of some deputy of members of this House, sent to spy out their liberty, to misrepresent their actions and to prey upon them, — whose behavior, on many occasions, has caused the blood of those Sons of LIBERTY to recoil within them, — men promoted to the highest seats of justice; some, to my knowledge, were glad, by going to foreign countries, to escape being brought to a bar of justice in their own. They protected by your arms? They have nobly taken up arms in your defense, have exerted their valor, amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defense of a country whose frontiers, while drenched in blood, its interior parts have yielded all its little savings to your enlargement; and, BELIEVE ME, — REMEMBER *I* THIS DAY TOLD YOU SO, — that the same spirit which actuated that people at first will continue with them still; but prudence forbids me to explain myself any further. GOD KNOWS, I do not at this time speak from motives of party heat. What I deliver are the genuine sentiments of my heart; however supe-

rior to me in general knowledge and experience the respectable body of this House may be, yet I claim to know more of *America* than most of you, having seen and been conversant in that country. The people there are as truly loyal, I believe, as any subjects the king has; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them, if they should be violated. But the subject is too delicate. I will say no more." This speech, soon published in America, delighted the patriots. A Boston town-meeting voted that Barré's portrait should be placed in Faneuil Hall, and secret societies, pledged to oppose the execution of the obnoxious law, adopted the name "Sons of Liberty."

In organized measures of resistance the colonists North and South bore an honorable part. "Virginia rang the alarm bell for the continent." The House of Burgesses was in session when the news of the passage of the Stamp Act was received. Shortly after a new member took his place among them, an eloquent young lawyer, Patrick Henry. When others hesitated he was fearless. On the blank page of a law-book he wrote a series of resolutions and presented them to the assembly. They asserted that the first settlers brought with them and transmitted to their descendants all the privileges possessed by the people of Great Britain; that these privileges had been re-affirmed by royal charters; that the General Assembly of the colony, in its representative capacity, possessed the exclusive right to lay taxes upon the people of the colony; that every attempt to vest such power in any other person or persons was "illegal, unconstitutional and unjust," and had "a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American liberty"; and that the people were not bound to obey any law imposing a tax unless said tax was laid by the General Assembly. In

the debate over these resolutions, Henry startled the House by exclaiming: "Tarquin and Cæsar had each a Brutus; Charles the First, his Cromwell; and George the Third," — interrupted by cries of "Treason," "Treason," undaunted, he concluded, "may profit by their example." But four of these resolutions were adopted (May 30, 1765), when the governor dissolved the assembly, but the entire six with the preamble were printed in the newspapers and met with general approval. Meanwhile Massachusetts had taken action. When the legislature met in June, James Otis proposed the calling of a congress, and a circular letter was accordingly addressed to all the colonies, requesting them to send representatives to meet in New York in the following October.

In this first American Congress nine colonies were represented — Massachusetts, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey and New York. The governor of Virginia prevented the meeting of the legislature and thus frustrated the election of delegates, but no one doubted that colony's hearty sympathy with the measures proposed. New York was the headquarters of General Gage, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, British troops were quartered in the city, and British ships-of-war were stationed in the harbor. Nothing daunted, congress convened and proceeded to express the sentiments of the people. A step in advance was now taken. Christopher Gadsden, a broad-minded delegate from South Carolina, urged that they should no longer base their liberty upon royal charters. The tenor of his speech may be gathered from his summary in a letter: "A confirmation of our essential and common rights as Englishmen may be pleaded from charters safely enough; but any further dependence in them may be fatal. We should

stand upon the broad common ground of those natural rights that we all feel and know as men and as descendants of Englishmen. I wish the charters may not ensnare us at last by drawing different colonies to act differently in this great cause. Whenever that is the case, all will be over with the whole. There ought to be no New-England man, no New-Yorker, known on the continent: but all of us Americans." The American people were to suffer heavy trials before they realized this ideal of complete nationality. The congress adopted memorials to the king and parliament, clearly defining the position of the colonists, and then adjourned October 25, 1765.

On the same day in Boston the legislature assembled, and Samuel Adams presented an able state paper setting forth the principles for which the Americans were contending, and also a series of resolutions, these Massachusetts resolves being a worthy accompaniment to those of Virginia. Thus were the people strengthened and fortified, and the attempted enforcement of the Stamp Act encountered a most determined resistance. In New York a reprint of the act was hawked about the streets as "The Folly of England and the Ruin of America." Newspapers bore a printed death's-head in place of the stamp; throughout the country boxes of stamps were seized and destroyed, while the stamp officers were burned in effigy and everywhere received such offensive treatment that many resigned. In Boston public excitement ran so high that a mob attacked the handsome residence of Chief-justice Hutchinson (August 26, 1765), destroyed his fine furniture and plate and a valuable library, and left the house a ruin. An unjustifiable act, for Hutchinson had never favored the stamp law, although carrying out the measures of government as required by his office; but

a mob is never amenable to reason. All agreed to ignore the use of stamps, although business was disastrously affected by this decision and, still further, by the formation of non-importation societies pledged not to trade with England until the Stamp Act was repealed. The wearing of homespun became fashionable, and in various patriotic economies the American women were as self-denying as the men. The English realized that these conditions not only entailed present loss, but raised a future rival in trade, for it was evident that the Americans in their widely diversified colonies could produce or manufacture all the necessaries of life. The mercantile classes of England became alarmed; those in authority realized that the law could only be enforced at the point of the bayonet, and neither the king nor his ministers were prepared for civil war.

The colonial question was brought before Parliament in January, 1766. That great statesman William Pitt, afterward Earl of Chatham, was ill, being a martyr to the gout, but he exclaimed, "My resolution is taken; and if I can crawl or be carried, I will deliver my mind and heart upon the state of America." A few extracts from his speech on this occasion must suffice. "It is a long time," he said, "since I have attended in Parliament. When the resolution was taken in the House to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have been carried in my bed, so great was the agitation of my mind for the consequences, I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me down on this floor, to have borne my testimony against it... It is my opinion that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies... They are the subjects of this kingdom; equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen; equally bound by

the laws, and equally participating of the constitution of this free country. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards of England... Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. The taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone... When, in this House, we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, Your Majesty's Commons of Great Britain, give and grant to your majesty — what? Our own property? No. We give and grant to your Majesty the property of your Majesty's commons of America... There is an idea in some, that the colonies are virtually represented in this House. They never have been represented at all in Parliament;...I would fain know by whom an American is represented here. Is he represented by any knight of the shire, in any county of this kingdom?... Or will you tell him that he is represented by any representative of a borough, — a borough which, perhaps, no man ever saw?... The idea of a virtual representation of America in this House is the most contemptible that ever entered into the heart of man... The commons of America, represented in their several assemblies, have ever been in possession of this their constitutional right, of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it."

Grenville endeavored to refute him: "That this kingdom," he said, "has the sovereign, the supreme legislative power over America, cannot be denied; and taxation is a part of that sovereign power. It is one branch of the legislation. It has been, and it is, exercised over those who are not, who were never, represented. It is exercised...over many great manufacturing towns. The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in this House. We were told we trod on tender

ground; we were bid to expect disobedience. What was this but telling the Americans to stand out against the law, to encourage their obstinacy with the expectation of support from hence?"

Pitt replied with heat: "I have been charged with giving birth to sedition in America... I rejoice that America has resisted." He closed with a final appeal for justice: "The Americans have not acted in all things with prudence and temper. They have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and temper come first from this side. I will undertake for America that she will follow the example... Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the House what is really my opinion. It is that the Stamp Act be repealed, absolutely, totally and immediately; that the reason for the repeal be assigned, because it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the same time, let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation, that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent."

The situation was bitterly debated for nearly three months. Lord Mansfield, a man of vast learning and eloquent of speech, defended the act in the House of Lords. "Our colonies," he asserted, "emigrated under the authority of the crown and Parliament, upon the terms of being subjects of England. They were modelled gradually into their present forms, by charters, grants, and statutes; but they were never separated from the mother country, or so emancipated as to become *sui juris*.... The colonies must remain dependent upon the jurisdic-

tion of the mother country, or they must be totally dismembered from it, and form a league of union among themselves against it, which could not be effected without great violence... There can be no doubt...that the inhabitants of the colonies are as much represented in Parliament as the greatest part of the people of England are represented, among nine millions of whom there are eight which have no votes in electing members of Parliament. Every objection, therefore, to the dependency of the colonies upon Parliament, which arises to it upon the ground of representation, goes to the whole present Constitution of Great Britain; and I suppose it is not meant to new-model *that* too!" In contradiction of Pitt's opinion he asserted that "a member of Parliament, chosen for any borough, represents not only the constituents and inhabitants of that particular place, but he represents the inhabitants of every other borough in Great Britain. He represents the city of London and all other, the commons of this land, and the inhabitants of all the colonies and dominions of Great Britain; and is in duty and conscience bound to take care of their interests." Continuing he exhorted his hearers to stand firm. "You may abdicate your right over the colonies. Take care, my Lords, how you do so, for such an act will be irrevocable. Proceed then, my Lords, with spirit and firmness; and, when you shall have established your authority, it will be time to show your lenity. The Americans...are a very good people and I wish them exceedingly well; but they are heated and inflamed... I cannot end better than by saying,...in the words of Maurice, Prince of Orange, concerning the Hollanders, 'God bless this industrious, frugal, well-meaning but easily deluded people!'"

On the 21st of February (1766) General Conway, secretary of state for the colonies, moved for permission to

present a bill for the repeal of the Stamp Act, stating among other just causes of alarm that it had been most disadvantageous to English trade; had decreased the manufactures of Manchester alone by one-third; and had thrown thousands of artisans out of employment. Pitt, swathed in flannel, entered the House on crutches, and although suffering participated in the debate. The division took place between one and two o'clock in the morning, and it was then announced that the vote stood two hundred and seventy-five for repeal, and one hundred and seventy-five for modifying and enforcing the law. It is related that as Conway left Westminster the great crowd gathered in the street heartily cheered him; Grenville they greeted with hisses; but when Pitt appeared the cheering throng uncovered.

The bill providing for unconditional repeal passed both Houses and was signed by the king in March, 1766; at the same time a declaratory act was passed, affirming the supreme authority of Parliament to legislate for the colonies "in all cases whatsoever." The repeal was received with much satisfaction in England, many houses in London were illuminated, and the Thames shipping was gay with flags. In America bonfires, illuminations, bell-ringings and salutes testified to the general rejoicing. The name of Pitt was everywhere hailed with honor. Rev. Charles Chauncy, pastor of the first church of Boston, preached a sermon on this happy occasion, taking for his text a verse from Proverbs: "As cold waters to a thirsty soul, so is good news from a far country." In closing he paid the following tribute to the greatest statesman in England: "That illustrious name in special, PITT, will, I trust be never mentioned but with honor, as the savior, under God, and the two kings who made him their prime minister, both of the nation and these colonies,

not only from the power of France, but from that which is much worse, a state of slavery, under the appellation of Englishmen. May his great services for his king, the nation, and these colonies, be had in everlasting remembrance!"

CHAPTER IV

A UNITED RESISTANCE

In the general exultation over repeal the Americans paid slight heed to the fact that the government, rather than resort to extreme measures, had but reluctantly made a concession, and that the declaratory act had reaffirmed the supreme power of Parliament over the colonies. But their satisfaction was destined to be short-lived. The principle of "no taxation without representation" had a wide application, and if conceded the party of New Whigs under Pitt's leadership would undoubtedly attempt far reaching and democratic reforms in England. Even now the pertinent question was asked: if Boston and New York decline to pay taxes because unrepresented, why should Leeds and Sheffield be assessed? The Tories and Old Whigs viewed the advance of this new liberalism with intense dislike. A reformed political system would necessarily follow a redistribution of seats in the House of Commons, and there would be a consequent loss of power by the great families who had so long governed by means of their control of "pocket boroughs." As for George III., he was determined to live up to his mother's constant admonition, "George, be king!" To assert his supremacy these independent colonies must be brought to submission.

A very just view of the American position is taken by the English historian Lecky; he says: "Manchester and Sheffield had no more direct representation in Parliament than Boston or Philadelphia; but the relations of unrepresented Englishmen and of colonists to the English Parliament were very different. Parliament could never long neglect the fierce beatings of the waves of popular discontent around its walls. It might long continue perfectly indifferent to the wishes of a population three thousand miles from the English shore. When Parliament taxed the English people, the taxing body itself felt the weight of the burden it imposed; but Parliament felt no part of the weight of colonial taxation, and had therefore a direct interest in increasing it. The English people might justly complain that they were taxed by a body in which they were very imperfectly represented; but this was a widely different thing from being taxed by the legislature of another country. To adopt the powerful language of an Irish writer, no free people will ever admit 'that persons distant from them a thousand leagues are to tax them to whatever amount they please, without their consent, without knowing them or their concerns, without any sympathy or affection or interest, without even sharing themselves in the taxes they impose — on the contrary, diminishing their own burdens exactly in the degree they increase theirs.'"

Within six months after the repeal of the Stamp Act Charles Townshend became Chancellor of the Exchequer. He devised a new plan of taxation for the colonies which met with the king's hearty approval. Pitt, now become Lord Chatham, was utterly incapacitated by illness and could offer no opposition. Townshend's scheme did not lack shrewdness. The Americans had hitherto discriminated between internal taxes and port duties, considering

the latter as external taxes, placed by Parliament for the regulation of trade throughout the empire. Townshend determined to take advantage of this distinction. He announced to the Commons: "I know the mode by which a revenue may be drawn from America without offence"; at the same time he expressed his contempt for the idea upon which he based his scheme: "I laugh at the absurd distinction between internal and external taxes . . . It is a distinction without a difference; it is perfect nonsense; if we have the right to impose the one, we have a right to impose the other." Townshend's bill was passed in July, 1767, and laid a duty on wine, oil and fruits if carried directly to America from Spain or Portugal; on glass, paper, lead, painters' colors and tea. The revenue thus derived was to be used in paying an annual salary of £2000 to each royal governor, and £500 each to the Justices appointed by the king. To further embarrass the local governments the crown was authorized to establish a civil list in every American colony and given full power to grant salaries and pensions. A board of revenue commissioners was to have jurisdiction over the whole country with headquarters at Boston, and the legality of writs of assistance was re-affirmed and their use sanctioned. The bill was accompanied by a special act suspending all legislative action by the New York Assembly until that body complied with demands, sent out from England, to furnish quarters for the use of the British troops within that city.

The Townshend Revenue Act was not designed for the relief of English taxpayers, for it was expressly stated that the income obtained was to be expended in the colonies. The design of the bill was political, not commercial; George III. and the master spirit of his cabinet, Charles Townshend, were determined to assert

the supremacy of the crown. Townshend died within three months after the passage of his mischievous bill, but the king found a pliant minister in Lord North who became Chancellor of the Exchequer and afterward prime minister. Macaulay tells us that at this time there sprang into existence "a reptile species of politicians" never seen in England before or since. "These men disclaimed all political ties except those which bound them to the throne. They were willing to coalesce with any party, to undermine any party, to assault any party, at a moment's notice. To them, all administrations and all oppositions were the same... They were generally to be found in places of much emolument, little labor and no responsibility... Their peculiar business was, not to support the ministry against the opposition, but to support the king against the ministry. Whenever his Majesty was induced to give a reluctant assent to the introduction of some bill which his constitutional advisers regarded as necessary, his friends in the House of Commons were sure to speak against it, to vote against it, to throw in its way every obstruction compatible with forms of Parliament. If his Majesty found it necessary to admit into his closet a secretary of state or a first lord of the treasury whom he disliked, his friends were sure to miss no opportunity of thwarting and humbling the obnoxious minister. In return for these services, the king covered them with his protection. It was to no purpose that his responsible servants complained to him that they were daily betrayed and impeded by men who were eating the bread of the government... He never would turn them out; and while everything else in the state was constantly changing, these sycophants seemed to have a life estate in their offices." The support of this division, known as the

"King's Friends," and the compliance of Lord North who retained the premiership during twelve years (1770-1782), explains the fact that George III. was enabled to force the quarrel with the Americans to the bitter end. England did not lack statesmen; there were great men in both Houses, and they vigorously protested against a course they were powerless to prevent.

Townshend's subterfuge excited contempt in America where it was now declared that all taxes placed solely for revenue, whether internal or external, were equally a violation of the principle for which the colonists were contending. Forcible resistance was not advised, but the non-importation societies became active and were supplemented by organized efforts for the establishment of home industries. The campaign of education continued; Samuel Adams was a most able and prolific writer for the press, and the "Farmer's Letters" by John Dickinson of Pennsylvania were widely circulated and exerted a marked influence. Throughout the colonies a natural question now arose: if "taxation without representation" be illegal, is not other legislation by a parliament in which we are unrepresented equally unjust? Is it not tyranny for such a body to restrict our manufactures and hamper our commerce? The "Farmer's Letters" were only twelve in number, but they reviewed this question very thoroughly and forcibly, as the following extract shows: "We have been prohibited from procuring manufactures, in all cases, anywhere but from *Great Britain* (excepting linens which we are permitted to import directly from Ireland). We have been prohibited, in some cases, from manufacturing for ourselves; and may be prohibited in others ... If *Great Britain* can order us to come to her for necessaries we want, and can order us to pay what taxes she

pleases before we take them away, or when we land them here, we are as abject slaves as *France and Poland can show* in wooden shoes and with uncombed hair." In place of "no taxation without representation" a new phrase sprang into life — "No legislation without representation." At this period the Americans had no literature worthy the name, except that called forth by the questions of the hour, but they had more advanced theories and a broader political intelligence than any other people of their day. In debate and discussion they were also to win distinction, for the exigencies of the situation fostered their gifts born of a sturdy independence of spirit and an innate love of freedom. In January 1768 the Massachusetts Assembly adopted a series of able state papers drafted by Samuel Adams; they consisted of memorials to the king and members of the ministry, setting forth the injustice done the colonists, and asking redress for the grievances of these loyal subjects. A month later a circular letter, written by the same hand, was sent to each colonial assembly, proposing consultation and concerted action in defense of their rights. It was received with cordial approval by the colonists, but caused ill-feeling in England where concerted action by thirteen colonies was regarded as tending to rebellion. Lord Hillsborough had been made secretary of state for the colonies, and he now issued orders that the Massachusetts Assembly should rescind the circular letter; the assembly by a vote of ninety-two to seventeen refused compliance, and Bernard, the royal governor, acting under orders, dissolved the sitting. Hillsborough instructed the colonial governors to prevent any action upon the circular letter by their respective assemblies, and in case of non-compliance to dissolve them. In a short time Massachusetts, Virginia, Mary-

land and South Carolina were, like New York, deprived of a legislature. New York had, however, the distinction of losing her privilege by act of Parliament, whereas the other colonies were subject to the mandate of a cabinet minister acting under royal orders. At this time two toasts became very popular at Boston and Charleston: "The illustrious Ninety-two" and "The unanimous Twenty-six"; these figures indicating the number of members who in the assemblies of Massachusetts and South Carolina had voted not to rescind.

In June the frigate *Romney* of the English navy arrived in Boston harbor and speedily aroused the indignation of the people by impressing New England seamen. This affront and the constant irritation over the exactions of the revenue officers culminated in a riot when the sloop *Liberty,* owned by John Hancock, was seized for alleged violation of the revenue laws. Hot words passed between officers and citizens on the wharf, the excitement spread, windows were broken, officers pelted, and a small boat belonging to the collector was appropriated by the crowd and burned on the common. This fracas was magnified by the governor and officials, and, taken in connection with the decided refusal of the assembly to rescind the circular letter, strengthened the king's determination to break the stubborn spirit of the colonists, and two regiments were ordered to Boston. Meanwhile efforts were made to obtain information against Adams and Otis, in order that they might be taken to England for trial under an obsolete statute of Henry VIII. concerning treason committed abroad. Deprived of a representative assembly, the Boston town-meeting proved equal to the emergency. It met on September 12th (1768), and decided on the bold move of summoning a "town-meeting" in which the

entire commonwealth should be represented. It further advised all persons to provide themselves with fire-arms on the pretense "of the prevailing apprehension of a war with France"; and before adjourning appointed a day of fasting and prayer. Ninety-six towns and eight districts sent delegates to the "town-meeting" which convened at Boston on September 22d and remained in session for one week. An address to the king was adopted wherein it was denied that Massachusetts was in a state of insurrection, but the very fact of such a convention was to the king strong proof of rebellion.

The day after the "meeting" adjourned (September 28th), the warships bringing the troops to the peaceable town of Boston entered the harbor. The soldiers having been supplied with sixteen rounds of shot were landed at Long Wharf. With flags flying, drums beating, fifes playing, followed by a train of artillery and two cannon, they marched to the common, while the citizens, who were to be overawed by their presence, quietly watched the proceedings. By an act of Parliament troops could not be quartered on a town if there was sufficient room for them in regular barracks, and any officer quartering troops otherwise than as the law directed could be dismissed the service. Gage had ordered that the regiments should remain in the city; the town authorities refused them quarters as there was abundant room in the barracks at Castle William in the harbor. General Gage journeyed from New York to Boston to enforce his demands, but he could do nothing. The magistrates were sustained by the law. The troops were therefore encamped on the common until cold weather forced their commander, Colonel Dalrymple, to hire lodgings for them at very dear rates and at the expense of the crown. Two cannons were placed opposite the Town

House and pointed at the assembly chamber, but the insulted citizens forebore to give cause of offense, and the troops passed the winter in idleness.

In Parliament the disturbed state of the American colonies gave rise to heated debates. Lord North declared: "America must fear you before she can love you. If America is to be the judge, you may tax in no instance, you may regulate in no instance... I am against repealing the last act of Parliament, securing to us a revenue out of America; I will never think of repealing it until I see America prostrate at my feet." "We shall grant nothing to the Americans," exclaimed Lord Hillsborough, "except what they may ask with a halter around their necks." In this spirit the ministry received the petitions and addresses forwarded by the colonial assemblies, but in the House of Commons many brave words were spoken in behalf of the distressed people, and they were not without effect, for in the spring of 1769 it was decided to repeal all the duties placed by the act of 1767, except that on tea, which it was determined to retain as an assertion of the right to tax the colonies. The Americans were in no wise conciliated by this concession which left the main question as before.

During the year there was little apparent change in the situation, but the colonists strengthened the bond of mutual sympathy. The Virginia Assembly which included among its representatives Washington, Jefferson and Henry met at Williamsburgh and passed a series of resolutions in which the colonial position was clearly stated and a warning added against carrying any American citizen to England for trial. It was ordered that these resolves be transmitted to the other colonies, and in consequence of this bold action the governor dissolved

the assembly. But the members met in the ballroom of the Raleigh Tavern and adopted a further series of resolutions embodying a non-importation scheme drafted by George Mason and presented by Washington, and binding the colonists to maintain this policy until all the duties placed by the Townshend act should be repealed. These resolutions were agreed to by every southern colony as well as by Massachusetts and others at the north, and greatly strengthened the patriot cause. The merchants who continued to trade with England received rough treatment from their indignant townsmen; they were hooted and pelted in the streets, and in some instances received a coat of tar and feathers. The following placard proscribing an importer is an example of the "warnings" tacked up in public places:

WILLIAM JACKSON,
an *IMPORTER;* at the
BRAZEN HEAD,
North side of the *TOWN-HOUSE,*
and OPPOSITE the TOWN PUMP, in
Corn-Hill, BOSTON.
It is desired that the SONS, and
DAUGHTERS of *LIBERTY,*
would not buy any one thing of
him, for in so doing they will bring
Disgrace upon *themselves,* and their
Posterity for *ever and ever. AMEN.*

The citizens of Boston bitterly resented the presence of the troops. Samuel Adams published a series of letters, signed "Vindex," in which he argued that it was unlawful to maintain a standing army, in time of peace, without the consent of Parliament, which consent was virtually a permission given by the people themselves through their representatives; as the Amer-

icans were not represented in that body, the establishment of troops in their midst was, therefore, not only illegal, but tyrannical. Under the circumstances it is remarkable that seventeen months passed without a more serious outbreak than jeers and insults to the soldiers by the rougher class of men and boys, and an occasional street brawl, but ill-feeling finally culminated in a serious riot known as the Boston Massacre. The trouble began on March 2, 1770, in a quarrel between a soldier and a workman at the rope-walk which was followed by a street fight between several soldiers and laborers. Complaints were made to the authorities, but no action was taken and the excitement and irritation increased. On the evening of the fifth, a gathering of lawless boys and older street-brawlers began shouting insults at a sentinel stationed in King street, who had aroused their ill-will by striking a boy for insolence to an officer passing through the street. The sentinel being hard pressed called for help. Captain Preston, officer of the guard, with a file of soldiers hastened to his relief. The crowd were well aware that it was against the law for the officer to order his men to fire without the authority of a civil magistrate, and they felt little respect for this show of force. Their numbers increased, and pelting the soldiers with snow-balls and sticks, they pressed upon them shouting insults and daring them to fire upon unarmed men. The exasperated soldiers accepted the challenge and fired, killing four and wounding seven. The alarm bell was rung, and the people rushed into the streets increasing the tumult. A more serious disturbance was averted by the timely arrival of Hutchinson, the acting governor. From the balcony of the State-house he addressed the excited populace urging them to return quietly to their homes and, expressing the deepest

regret for the occurrence, promised that justice should be done. He at once began an investigation which lasted far into the night.

The next morning a great town-meeting was held in Faneuil Hall. A committee of fifteen, including Samuel Adams, was appointed to wait upon the governor and demand the immediate withdrawal of the troops. Hutchinson, surrounded by the council and crown officials, received them in the State-house, and in reply to their demands declared that he had no authority to remove the troops, as the order must be issued by the commander-in-chief, General Gage. The ranking officer, Colonel Dalrymple of the 14th, was present and stated that he would receive an order from no one but General Gage; nevertheless he would meet the wishes of the people by sending the 29th to Castle William, as he was aware that the general had contemplated doing so. In the meantime the town-meeting had adjourned to the Old South Meeting House. On their return to the meeting, Samuel Adams, walking uncovered at the head of the Committee, as he passed through the narrow lane left by the great throng in the street, bowed to the right and left, murmuring: "Both regiments or none; both regiments or none." The town-meeting, upon receiving the report, determined that both regiments must go. When the shout "Both regiments must go!" rang through the crowded room, it was caught up by the people in the streets who, now understanding the watchword Adams had given them, raised a mighty cry, "Both regiments or none!" A committee of seven was appointed to return the reply of the people to the governor; it was headed by the wealthy young merchant John Hancock, but, as before, Samuel Adams was their spokesman. Hutchinson defended his position, and in reply Adams said: "It is well known that, acting

as governor of the Province, you are by its Charter the commander-in-chief of the military forces within it; and as such the troops now in the capital are subject to your orders. If you, or Colonel Dalrymple under you, have the power to remove one regiment, you have the power to remove both; and nothing short of their total removal will satisfy the people or preserve the peace of the Province. A multitude highly incensed now await the result of this application. The voice of ten thousand freemen demands that both regiments be forthwith removed. Their voices must be respected, their demands obeyed. Fail not, then, at your peril to comply with this requisition! On you alone rests the responsibility of this decision; and if the just expectations of the people are disappointed, you must be answerable to God and your country for the fatal consequences that must ensue. The committee have discharged their duty, and it is for you to discharge yours. They wait your final determination." The governor, being unsupported by the alarmed officials present, was finally obliged, most unwillingly, to yield, and the committee retired with the assurance that both regiments would be sent to Castle William. Within a week they were quartered in the harbor, and Lord North ever after spoke of the 14th and 29th as "Sam Adams's regiments."

Quiet was restored by the withdrawal of the troops, and the Puritan conscience asserted its sway. The trial of Captain Preston and the soldiers engaged in the affray was delayed for seven months in order that excitement should be allayed and a calmer judgment decide their case. They were defended by two distinguished young lawyers of the patriot party, John Adams and Josiah Quincy; all the accused were acquitted save two soldiers who were sentenced to a slight punishment.

On the day of the Boston Massacre Lord North intro-

duced in the House of Commons the promised bill for the repeal of all duties placed by the Townshend act except that on tea. This bill was not in response to petitions from the colonists, but to appeals from British merchants and manufacturers who were most anxious for a resumption of trade with America. By the bill a drawback of a shilling a pound was allowed upon tea exported to America, and as the duty placed was but three pence a pound the colonists were benefited to the extent of nine pence a pound. The advocates of the measure considered that the Americans should be satisfied by obtaining cheaper tea, and by the aid of the "king's friends" the bill was passed in April, 1770.

In all the colonies there had been more or less trading with England, in spite of agreements and warnings, and the merchants were now sorely tempted to resume commercial relations, as all business suffered severely from the restrictions imposed. New York had been more faithful to its engagement than any other city, but it now yielded to the exigencies of trade and broke the non-importation agreement, sending orders to England for all goods desired, except tea. This act caused great indignation throughout the country; the letters announcing the decision of the merchants were torn in pieces in Boston and in Princeton burnt by the students assembled in black gowns on the campus. As New York was the principal seaport, her act rendered futile the plan of non-importation, and trade was very generally resumed with England, save in the importation of tea.

During the year following English officials in America, by unjust exactions, unlawful arrests and unwarranted interference in local affairs, constantly aroused ill-feeling among the people. Legislatures were frequently dissolved by the governors, or convened at places other than the

capitals to the detriment of public business. In North Carolina, under the tyrannical rule of Governor Tryon, there was an uprising among the hardy frontier men, resulting in a battle at Alamance (May 16, 1771), when two hundred of their number were killed and wounded, and six were subsequently hung for treason. In Rhode Island the revenue acts were enforced by an eight-gun schooner, the Gaspee. Her commander, Lieutenant Duddingston, stopped and searched every vessel entering Narragansett Bay, and seized goods thought to be smuggled, while his men when on shore-leave aroused great indignation by their lawlessness. As their complaints were unheeded by those in authority and Duddingston's course upheld, the people undertook their own relief. The Gaspee, in chasing a suspected vessel, was lured near a shoal and ran aground. That night (June 9, 1772) she was attacked by a party of men in eight boats, her commander and crew captured and put ashore, and the vessel set on fire and totally destroyed. Although the English government offered large rewards, no evidence could be obtained against those engaged in this enterprise. When the assembly met the governor announced his instructions to send the offenders, on their arrest, to England for trial. "Then," answered Chief-justice Stephen Hopkins, "for the purpose of transportation for trial, I will neither apprehend any by my own order, nor suffer any executive officers in the colony to do it."

The king's determination that the governor and judges of the commonwealth should be paid by the crown and thus be made entirely independent of the people impelled Massachusetts to take action: "Is Life, Property and everything dear and sacred to be now submitted to the decision of *pensioned* judges... To what a state of Infamy, Wretchedness, and Misery shall we be reduced, if

our Judges shall be prevailed upon to be thus degraded to *Hirelings,* and the *Body* of the people shall suffer their free constitution to be overturned and ruined... Let us converse together upon this most interesting Subject, and open our minds fully to each other. Let it be the topic of conversation in every social club. Let every town assemble. Let Associations and Combinations be everywhere set up to consult and recover our just Rights." Thus wrote Samuel Adams, and he proceeded to carry out a long-cherished scheme: the "Committee of Correspondence." The idea had originated, however, not with Adams, but with that militant preacher, the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, who, ten years earlier, had written to Otis: "Cultivating a good understanding and hearty friendship between these colonies appears to me so necessary a part of prudence and good policy that no favorable opportunity for that purpose should be omitted...you have heard of the *communion of churches*...; while I was thinking of this, the great use and importance of a *communion of colonies* appeared to me in a strong light." In the Boston town-meeting held November 2, 1772, Samuel Adams moved "that a committee of correspondence be appointed, to consist of twenty-one persons, to state the rights of the colonies, and of this province in particular, as men, as Christians and as subjects; to communicate and publish the same to the several towns in this province and to the world, as the sense of this town, with the infringements and violations thereof that have been, or that from time to time may be, made; also requesting of each town a free communication of their sentiments on the subject." The committee was appointed and reported on the twentieth, and before the year closed eighty towns had responded to their appeal. Throughout Massachusetts there now existed a body, in touch with the people, independent of

official authority, ever able to assist and advise and prepared for immediate and united action. In the following March Virginia, under the lead of Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee, voted to establish intercolonial Committees of Correspondence. Throughout the country the movement spread and its influence increased; "the action of Boston," says Frothingham, "proved the beginning of the first national party of the country." The English government might yet have averted rebellion by a wise concession to existing conditions, a judicious letting alone, a slight show of interest in the welfare of the colonies; but at this critical period that fatuous monarch George III. determined to enforce the tax on tea and by thus asserting the supremacy of the crown trample under foot the liberties of a free people.

The unfortunate condition to which the East India Company was reduced by the refusal of the Americans to buy tea offered a ready excuse for the king's unwise course. Seventeen million pounds of tea had accumulated in its warehouses, and the company was on the verge of bankruptcy. To relieve its financial embarrassment Parliament authorized the company to export tea to America without payment of the English duties; by this means tea could be sold more cheaply in the colonies than in England. It was confidently expected that the Americans would purchase when the price was even less than that paid for tea smuggled from Holland. The colonial agents in London asserted that the colonists were not contending for a cheaper article but for political rights, and that the scheme would fail; to which Lord North replied: "It is to no purpose making objections, for the king will have it so. The king means to *try the question* with America."

The news that ships with cargoes of tea were to be

sent to the principal American ports aroused intense indignation throughout the country. The Committees of Correspondence of Boston and neighboring towns, acting in concert, issued a circular, stating that the arrival of the tea " was more to be dreaded than plague and pestilence." At Boston, Philadelphia, New York and Charleston great public meetings were held, and the people demanded that the agents, appointed by the East India Company to receive the tea, should resign their commissions. All except those at Boston complied, for it was an occasion when discretion seemed the better part of valor, but as two of the governor's sons were among the consignees at Boston they were probably encouraged by their nearness to the chief authority. It was promptly decided in a Boston town-meeting that the tea should not be landed, and the committee of correspondence communicated this decision throughout the province and to the other colonies. In reply letters of sympathy and encouragement poured in upon her, and the brave little town determined, in defense of constitutional liberty, *" to try the question"* with the king.

On November 28, 1773, the Dartmouth sailed into Boston harbor, the first of the tea ships to arrive. Although it was the Puritan sabbath, a committee waited upon the owner, Benjamin Rotch, and obtained a promise from him that he would not enter the vessel at the Custom House until Tuesday. On Monday a great town-meeting was held, and as Faneuil Hall could not accommodate the great numbers present they adjourned to the Old South Meeting House. It was decided unanimously that the tea should be sent back to England and without payment of duty. Captain Hall of the Dartmouth was enjoined not to land the tea, and to make impossible any attempt to do so secretly a guard of twenty-five armed men

was each night stationed at the wharf. At the town-meeting on Tuesday the consignees in reply to the demand of the people stated that they could not return the tea to England, but were willing to store it and wait directions from their "constituents." This opportunity to notify the English government the colonists declined. During the meeting the sheriff of Suffolk presented a proclamation from the governor ordering: "Each of them there unlawfully assembled, forthwith to disperse, and to surcease all further unlawful proceedings, at their utmost peril." This communication was greeted with hisses and a vote to continue the sitting. Resolutions were passed forbidding ship-owners to import or bring any tea from Great Britain until the tax was repealed, under penalty of being deemed an enemy to the country; in case of an attempt to bring tea into the colony the ships would be prevented from landing, by force if necessary, and the tea would be returned to the place from whence it came. It was ordered that these resolves be printed and copies sent to New York and Philadelphia, to every seaport in Massachusetts and to the English government. Within a few days two more tea-ships arrived and were lined up with the Dartmouth in order that all three might be under surveillance. Meanwhile beacon fires were laid on the surrounding hills and watchmen were stationed in the church belfries ready to give the signal to the surrounding country-side, should a forcible attempt be made to land the tea. During these anxious days there was a constant succession of town-meetings. The people were now confronted by certain legal difficulties: the ship's cargo must be entered at the Custom House within twenty days after arrival, or the vessel was subject to confiscation. With the tea on board, the Dartmouth could not sail, as the custom-house officials refused to issue clearance papers until her entire

cargo was discharged; and the governor stationed two vessels of the British fleet at the entrance of the harbor, with orders to fire upon any vessel attempting to go to sea without a proper permit. As the twentieth day approached, December 17, 1773, anxiety deepened; Rotch must obtain his clearance papers, or the officials would seize the ship and, protected by the guns of the fleet, succeed in landing the tea. On the sixteenth the greatest town-meeting ever known was held in the "Old South"; over seven thousand people gathered in and about the building; they were quiet but determined. Hutchinson had gone to his country seat at Milton, and thither Rotch was dispatched to obtain, if possible, a permit for the vessel to sail, for the governor held the supreme authority in the colony. Hour after hour passed, while the assembled people waited patiently, and it was candle light when Rotch returned and reported that the governor refused the pass, as the vessel had not properly cleared. Then arose Samuel Adams and announced: "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country." At this signal a shout was heard from the porch, a warwhoop sounded, and some forty or fifty men disguised as Mohawk Indians and supplied with hatchets passed toward the water front. A great crowd followed them to Griffin's wharf and watched in utter silence as the "Mohawks" boarded the ships, broke open the chests of tea, three hundred and forty in all, and tossed the contents into the harbor. There was no interference by the war-ships, and when the work was accomplished the people quietly dispersed. This bold act, so successfully carried out, aroused great enthusiasm throughout the country. When the tea-ships arrived at New York and Philadelphia they were ordered to turn back, and the captains complied rather than face the consequences of an attempt to land their cargoes. At Charles-

ton, the vessel was seized by the revenue officers at the expiration of the twenty days' limit, and as no one would buy the tea the entire invoice, two hundred and fifty-seven chests, was stored and three years later was sold by the Legislature, and the proceeds applied to the public service.

When the news of the "Boston tea-party" was received in England there was great excitement and indignation; it seemed incredible that the Province of Massachusetts should thus defy the power of the empire. Boston, that hot-bed of sedition, must be brought by stringent measures to respect the supreme authority; a severe punishment must be meted out to her. One member of Parliament voiced the opinion of many, when he remarked: "The town of Boston ought to be knocked about their ears and destroyed... You will never meet with proper obedience to the laws of the country until you have destroyed that nest of locusts." Lord North brought forward in Parliament five retaliatory measures, and they were soon passed. When we consider that these laws were decreed by a nation whose pride had been its defense of constitutional liberty, we can realize the decadence of English politics at that period. The first act is known as the Boston Port Bill. It closed the port of Boston; no vessel was to be allowed, after the first day of June, to enter or leave the harbor until the town indemnified the East India Company for the tea destroyed and should, further, satisfy the king that in future the people would render due obedience to the laws. Marblehead was made a port of entry in place of Boston, and Salem was designated the seat of government. The second known as the Regulating Bill practically abrogated the charter of Massachusetts. The king was empowered to appoint the governor, the council and the judges of the Supreme Court; the governor was to appoint all other officers of the gen-

eral government, military, executive and judicial; the sheriffs he appointed were to select the jurors, a duty that had previously been discharged by the selectmen. To the people were left only the election of the assembly or lower house of the legislature and of the town officials. But more serious than all else, that fundamental feature of their free government the town-meeting, could only be held twice a year and for the purpose of electing officers and no other subject could be discussed without permission of the governor. The third act provided that any magistrate, revenue officer or soldier in Massachusetts, indicted for a capital offence, should be taken to England for trial. The fact was ignored that Captain Preston and the soldiers engaged in the Boston Massacre had received a fair trial and most lenient treatment. The fourth bill provided for quartering troops in Boston and throughout the province of Massachusetts. The fifth known as the Quebec Act related more particularly to Canada and was an excellent provision for that province. It greatly facilitated the assimilation of the French population with their English conquerors, for it granted the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion throughout Canada. It affected the colonists by shocking the intense Puritanism of New England by the nearness of an established Catholicism, and by the extension of the Canadian boundary to the Ohio River, giving the law effect within the western territory claimed by Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and Virginia.

These arbitrary and unjust measures were not carried through Parliament without opposition. Barré, Fox, Conway and other friends of America spoke bravely in her defense and in opposition to the course the king and his ministers were determined to pursue. One of the greatest speeches ever heard in Westminster was delivered on

April 19, 1774, when Edmund Burke seconded a motion to repeal the tax on tea payable in America. He could not turn the tide, but he spoke plainly: "You will force them? Has seven years' struggle been yet able to force them? O, but it seems 'we are in the right,' 'the tax is trifling'... No man ever doubted that the commodity of tea could bear an imposition of three-pence. But no commodity will bear three-pence, or will bear a penny, when the general feelings of men are irritated and two millions of people are resolved not to pay. The feelings of the colonies were formerly the feelings of Great Britain. Theirs were formerly the feelings of Mr. Hampden when called upon for the payment of twenty shillings. Would twenty shillings have ruined Mr. Hampden's fortune? No! but the payment of half-twenty shillings, on the principle it was demanded, would have made him a slave...tell me, what one character of liberty the Americans have, and what one brand of slavery they are free from, if they are bound in their property and industry, by all the restraints you can imagine on commerce, and at the same time are made pack-horses of every tax you choose to impose, without the least share in granting them. When they bear the burdens of unlimited monopoly, will you bring them to bear the burdens of unlimited revenue too? The Englishman in America will feel that this is slavery — that it is *legal* slavery, will be no compensation, either to his feelings or his understanding... Ask yourself this question, Will they be content in such a state of slavery? If not, look to the consequences. Reflect how you are to govern a people, who think they ought to be free, and think they are not. Your scheme yields no revenue; it yields nothing but discontent, disorder, disobedience; and such is the state of America, that, after wading up to your eyes in blood, you could only end

just where you begun; that is, to tax where no revenue is to be found, to — my voice fails me; my inclination indeed carries me no farther — all is confusion beyond it."

Lord Chatham, who by illness had been prevented from taking any part in public affairs, now appeared in the House of Lords, feeble though he was, to protest against the bill for quartering troops upon the town of Boston. He said: "The Americans had almost forgot, in their excess of gratitude for the repeal of the Stamp Act, any interest but that of the mother country; there seemed an emulation among the different provinces who should be most dutiful and forward in their expressions of loyalty... This...was the temper of the Americans, and would have continued so, had it not been interrupted by your fruitless endeavors to tax them without their consent. But the moment they perceived your intention was renewed to tax them, under a pretense of serving the East India Company, their resentment got the ascendant of their moderation, and hurried them into actions contrary to law, which, in their cooler hours, they would have thought on with horror; for I sincerely believe the destroying of the tea was the effect of despair... It has always been my received and unalterable opinion, and I will carry it to my grave, *that this country had no right under heaven to tax America.* It is contrary to all the principles of justice and civil polity, which neither the exigencies of the state, nor even an acquiescence in the taxes, could justify upon any occasion whatever... Instead of adding to their miseries, as the bill now before you most undoubtedly does, adopt some lenient measures which may lure them to their duty. Proceed like a kind and affectionate parent over a child whom he tenderly loves, and, instead of those harsh and severe proceedings, pass an amnesty on all their youthful errors, clasp them

once more in your fond and affectionate arms, and I will venture to affirm you will find them children worthy of their sire."

General Gage who was selected to carry into effect the Boston Port Bill was made Governor of Massachusetts, and additional regiments were sent to Boston to enforce his authority. He was in England at the time and immediately set sail. Arriving at Boston he entered the town on May 17, 1774, and was received with every mark of respect due to his position as military governor of the province; but his errand was to end in disaster; to cost England the loss of her American colonies; and to humble the pride of her stubborn king.

CHAPTER V

A CONTINENTAL QUESTION

When the passage of the Boston Port Bill was known in America the colonies north and south rallied to the support of Massachusetts, for it was felt that she suffered in the common cause. The Virginia Assembly, always foremost in its cordial sympathy, appointed the first day of June a day of fasting and prayer when all should "implore the Divine interposition to avert the heavy calamity which threatened destruction to their civil rights, with the evils of civil war, and to give one heart and one mind to the people firmly to oppose by all just and proper means every injury to American rights." For this act the governor dissolved the assembly, but undaunted they met, as on previous occasions, at the Raleigh Tavern. There they expressed not only their sympathy with Boston but proposed the calling of a congress, composed of delegates from each colony, to consider their common peril, a plan suggested by the "Sons of Liberty" in New York. Professor Sloane tells us that "from the constant use of the phrase 'the whole continent,' to express general action, came the fine adjective so long significant of union — continental." I shall now use it, as from this time on it expresses the conditions of American political life; we must henceforth consider their course as that of one people. Josiah Quincy, Jr., voiced the accepted opinion of his day when he wrote: "The Americans have one

common interest. Natural allies, they have published to the world professions of esteem and confidence, aid and assistance; they have pledged their faith of mutual friendship and alliance. Not only common danger, bondage and disgrace, but national truth and honor, conspire to make the colonists resolve to stand or fall together." The strength of this tie was not realized in England. Lord North contemptuously alluded to the union of the colonies as a "rope of sand": "It is a rope of sand that will hang him," remarked an American. It was perhaps impossible for any nation of the Old World, even England with a constitutional government founded upon more liberal principles than any other in Europe, to fully comprehend this intense love of liberty: "The Saxon genius of liberty and law which English America inherited from the parent state," had grown to be a mighty force amid the free, untrammeled life of the New World.

Throughout the country, June 1, 1774, was very generally observed as a day of fasting and prayer; services were held in the churches; muffled bells were tolled; flags were placed at half-mast, and copies of the bill with wide black borders were distributed. At twelve o'clock noon General Gage placed a cordon of warships across the entrance of Boston harbor and the port was closed; not only was all communication by sea cut off, but boats were forbidden to transport merchandise from point to point within the bay. When the fishermen of Marblehead sent an offering of dried fish to Boston it had to be carried thirty miles in order to enter the city. The colonies now offered more substantial expressions of good-will than resolutions of sympathy. South Carolina furnished two hundred barrels of rice and promised eight hundred more; North Carolina sent two thousand pounds in money; Virginia forwarded money and one hundred and thirty-

seven barrels of flour; from every New England town came great droves of sheep and cattle, quantities of fish, rye, flour, pease, oil, wood, — whatever they were able to furnish. And it was sadly needed. A seaport without commerce, trade stagnant, men idle about the streets, the once busy and prosperous city was in sore straits, and as the months passed the distress increased. The supplies poured into Boston were received by the Donation Committee, and the letters addressed to this committee by the different colonies form a remarkable collection: all breathe a spirit of liberty and union, as is shown by the following brief extracts. From New Hampshire the patriots wrote: "This is considered by us not as a gift or an act of charity, but of justice, — as a small part of what we are in duty bound to communicate to those truly noble and patriotic advocates of American freedom who are bravely standing in the gap between us and slavery, defending the common interests of a whole continent, and gloriously struggling for the cause of liberty." From Connecticut: "Most assuredly rely upon it that the people in all this part of the country are to a man resolutely determined to yield you all the assistance in our power, and are willing to sacrifice all that is dear and valuable to us rather than suffer the patriotic inhabitants of the town of Boston to be overwhelmed by the adversaries of American liberty." From Rhode Island: "We look upon your troubles as our own, and shall not fail to exert ourselves for your future support, in case you are not soon relieved; being fully convinced that at all events you must stand out against the present arbitrary and cruel proceedings, or all North America must inevitably fall a sacrifice to the most oppressive and brutal tyranny that ever disgraced the most savage nation upon the face of the earth." From New Jersey: "We rely under God upon the firmness and

resolution of your people, and earnestly hope they will never think of receding from the glorious ground they stand upon, while the blood of freedom runs in their veins." From Maryland: "Could we remain a moment indifferent to your sufferings, the result of your noble and virtuous struggle in defence of American liberties, we should unworthily share in those blessings which (under God) we owe in great measure to your perseverance and zeal in support of our common rights, that they have not ere now been wrested from us by the rapacious hand of power." And from Georgia: "The manly conduct of the brave people of Boston and of Massachusetts Bay, to preserve their liberty, deserves not only the applause and thanks of all America, but also the imitation of all mankind." Each colony wrote in a similar strain, and the people of Boston were strengthened and cheered by this ready help and sympathy. The Committee of Donations replied to the letter of Pennsylvania: "Through God's goodness, the hearts of our brothers have been opened for our relief. They have enabled us to bear up under oppression, to the astonishment of our enemies; and we trust we shall be enabled still to remain firm, and never desert the glorious cause of our country."

General Gage had at his command some thirty ships of war in the harbor and seven regiments of British regulars; on September 5, 1774, he began to fortify Boston Neck, the only means of communication with the town by land; but with all this display of power he was unable to overawe the people. It was impossible to enforce the "regulating act"; town-meetings continued to be held, and the "mandamus counsellors," so called because appointed by the king's writ of mandamus, were not allowed to take their seats. At Great Barrington and at Worcester crowds surrounded the court-houses and compelled

the judges to resign; they were not interfered with at Boston, but having opened court they were powerless to act, as the jurors refused to take the oath. At Plymouth a highly respected citizen accepted his appointment as counsellor, but the next Sunday his townsmen arose and left the church when he took his seat among them, and he speedily announced his resignation. Opposition was encountered on every side. When General Gage undertook to build barracks for the troops the carpenters refused to do the work, and the soldiers by many annoyances were made to feel the animosity of the people. Tories were everywhere roughly treated and in many instances received coats of tar and feathers. The governor threatened to use force, but hesitated. It was evident that the people were energetically preparing for such a contingency. They had already established a provisional government under the following circumstances. The governor had authorized the election of members to the assembly, but before the day of meeting, October 1st, he prorogued them. The delegates, however, determined to assemble; they met at Salem, resolved themselves into a Provincial Congress and elected John Hancock president. They then adjourned to Concord. They dissolved on December 10 and reassembled at Cambridge on February 1, 1775, remaining in session until spring. This Provincial Congress instituted the "Committee of Safety" and directed it to store arms and ammunition in safe places, to organize the militia and to appoint military officers. Men were now drilling on every village green, and companies of "minute men" were formed, prepared to march at the shortest notice. On the fifth of March, the anniversary of the Boston Massacre, a commemorative service was held in the Old South Church. Adams and Hancock were present and also some forty British officers

of the army and navy who were given seats near the pulpit that they might hear plainly. So great was the crowd that the orator of the day, that eloquent patriot Dr. Joseph Warren, was obliged to enter the building by means of a ladder placed before a window back of the pulpit. As we read his glowing speech, we recognize the bravery of the man who dared to deliver it at such a time and in such a place. "Our streets," he said, "are again filled with armed men, our harbor is crowded with ships-of-war; but these cannot intimidate us; our liberty must be preserved; it is far dearer than life; we hold it dear as our allegiance; we cannot suffer even Britons to ravish it from us... Our country is in danger. Our enemies are numerous and powerful; but we have many friends, and, determining to be free, Heaven and earth will aid the resolution. You are to decide the important question, on which rests the happiness and liberty of millions yet unborn... My fellow-citizens, I know you want not zeal or fortitude. You will maintain your rights or perish in the generous struggle. However difficult the combat, you will never decline it, when freedom is the prize. An independence of Great Britain is not our aim. No, our wish is that Britain and the colonies may, like the oak and the ivy, grow and increase together. But if these pacific measures are ineffectual, and it appears that the only way to safety is through fields of blood, I know you will not turn your faces from your foes, but will undauntedly press forward, until tyranny is trodden under foot."

New England did not stand alone in a determination to resort to arms if necessary. George Washington, in the Virginia convention, said: "I will raise one thousand men, subsist them at my own expense, and march myself at their head for the relief of Boston." Another Virginia gentleman wrote: "Let us remember that with

the sword our fathers obtained their constitutional rights, and by the sword it is our duty to defend them." The middle colonies presented the weakest point of colonial resistance. New York and Pennsylvania had a larger foreign admixture than was to be found elsewhere; naturally these men of old-world ideas did not cherish the principles of constitutional liberty as did their English neighbors. True the Hollander had bravely contended for freedom, but in the New World long years of peace and prosperity appear to have had a deadening effect upon the Dutch character, and in New York the strong commercial instinct of the people had been strengthened by a constantly increasing and expanding commerce. In Pennsylvania and New Jersey the large Quaker communities exerted a wide influence for peace. All these elements tended to weaken the efforts of the patriots in the middle colonies.

Having reviewed colonial conditions for the ten months during which the Boston Port Bill was enforced, we return to the early summer of 1774 and the proposed Continental Congress, which was immediately recognized as a wise provision for the general welfare. All the colonies except Georgia appointed delegates. Georgia, though not represented, promised concurrence in their decisions and there was no doubt of her good-will.

The election of the Massachusetts delegates was a victory for that astute political leader, Samuel Adams. The governor convened the assembly at Salem, on June 7th. When they met, Adams proceeded cautiously to carry out a cleverly devised scheme, skilfully managed to lull the suspicions of the Tories and to win over the doubtful by persuasion. Having ascertained the exact number upon whom he could rely, he acted promptly. On the morning of June 17th he ordered the doors of the as-

sembly chamber to be locked, directed the door-keeper to permit no one to enter or leave the room and then brought forward a resolution providing for the election of delegates to attend the Continental Congress. The House was at once in commotion and the Tories endeavored to leave the hall, whereupon Adams took the key from the frightened attendant and placed it in his own pocket. One of the Tories pretended to be ill and was permitted to retire; once outside, he hastened to the governor and informed him of these high-handed proceedings. Gage quickly wrote an order dissolving the assembly and dispatched it by his secretary. On arriving at the hall the secretary demanded admission, but the majority voted not to unlock the door; as he could not obtain the desired audience, the secretary proceeded to read the governor's message to the crowd that had quickly collected. Meanwhile the assembly elected the delegates and voted to provide five hundred pounds for their expenses, the money to be raised by assessing every town in the province, and as Massachusetts had been requested to appoint the time and place of meeting it was voted that the congress should convene at Philadelphia, on September 1st. Then, having accomplished their object, they submitted with a good grace to the governor's decree which they had declined to receive.

Recognizing that Samuel Adams was the life and soul of the patriot party in Massachusetts, General Gage attempted to win him to the king's cause by liberal offers of honors and emoluments. Colonel Fenton carried these proposals to Adams and also a warning that if he persisted in the course he was pursuing he would be deported to England and tried for treason. Adams listened quietly, but answered with indignation: "Sir, I trust I have long since made my peace with the King of kings.

No personal consideration shall induce me to abandon the righteous cause of my country. Tell Governor Gage it is the advice of Samuel Adams to him no longer to insult the feelings of an exasperated people."

The first Continental Congress assembled in the Carpenters' Hall at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. There were present fifty-five delegates representative of the best class in the colonies and of both the Tory and the patriot party. Among those whose distinguished abilities had made them prominent in political life were Samuel Adams, John Jay, Patrick Henry, George Washington, Richard Henry Lee, John Adams, John Rutledge, Philip Livingston, John Dickinson, Roger Sherman, Stephen Hopkins, William Livingston, Christopher Gadsden, Thomas Cushing and Edward Rutledge. Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, was elected chairman. The early days of the session were disturbed by a false report that General Gage had ordered the troops to fire upon citizens of Boston. Gage had sent a detachment of soldiers on September 1st to seize a quantity of powder belonging to the province, which was stored at Charlestown: this occasioned the rumor. All New England was aroused; within twenty-four hours 20,000 men were marching from different points toward Boston. They turned back when the truth became known, but their prompt response greatly encouraged the patriots.

As there was no means of ascertaining the relative importance of the colonies it was decided that in determining questions each colony should have one vote. Although determined to maintain their rights, the congress had no desire to provoke a rupture with England, and the loyalist Joseph Galloway enlisted a large support for a scheme, by which the colonies were to be united under a president-general appointed by the king, and a grand

council to be chosen every three years by the colonial assemblies, the British Parliament having the right to revise the acts of this body and they in turn having authority to veto British statutes relating to the colonies. This plan was discussed, but failed of approval. While all desired to end the quarrel and restore tranquillity to the country, the majority were faithful to republican principles. In the beginning Patrick Henry in a brilliant speech reviewed the wrongs of the colonists, the necessity of union and the importance of the constitutional questions that they were risking their all in defending. On the 17th, Congress received the "Suffolk Resolves," which had been adopted at a great meeting of delegates from the towns of that county, which included Boston. These resolutions were drafted by Joseph Warren, who, in the absence of Samuel Adams, had the direction of affairs. They declared that a king who breaks his compact with his people forfeits their allegiance, pronounced the Regulating Act unconstitutional and rejected all appointments made under it; advised all towns to elect officers for the militia, proposed a provincial congress and stated boldly that if General Gage arrested any one for political reasons they in return would seize the crown officers and hold them as hostages. The Suffolk Resolutions were approved by Congress and a reply was returned expressing sympathy and a determination to uphold the action of Massachusetts; and should an attempt be made to execute the late acts of Parliament by force, "in such a case," they declared, "all America ought to support them in their opposition."

The Americans hoped by adopting stringent commercial restrictions to arouse in England an opposition to the course pursued by Parliament, for the powerful influence of the commercial classes had forced concessions

from Parliament on previous occasions. They therefore decided upon commercial non-intercourse with England, and after several days' discussion formed an association for that purpose. This agreement consisted of fourteen articles; not only was the importation, exportation and consumption of merchandise from England prohibited, but the slave trade was to be wholly discontinued. A committee was to be appointed in every county, city and town to have charge of the measure and was authorized to publish in the press the names of those who failed to comply with the agreement; the Committees of Correspondence were made inspectors of custom-house returns. The only article not restricted was rice, a concession which South Carolina won by the withdrawal of two of her delegates from congress, a policy which that State adopted on subsequent occasions; when the unconditional export of their staple commodity was allowed the seceders returned. The agreement was signed on October 20th by fifty-two members of Congress and this act "may be considered," says Hildreth, "as the commencement of the American Union." For nearly two years this agreement was spoken of as "The Association of the United Colonies."

Of the state papers issued by this congress Lord Chatham remarked in the House of Lords: "When your lordships look at the papers, when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must declare and avow, that, in all my reading and observation, — and it has been my favorite study: I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master states of the world, — that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of circumstances, no nation or body of men can

stand in preference to the general congress at Philadelphia." These papers consisted of a Declaration of Rights, and addresses to the king and to the people of England, of Canada and of the American colonies. The Bill of Rights specified eleven acts of Parliament that should be repealed in justice to the Americans. In the address to the people of Great Britain occurs this declaration: "You have been told that we are impatient of government and desirous of independency. These are calumnies. Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory and our greatest happiness. But if you are determined that your ministers shall wantonly sport with the rights of mankind; if neither the voice of justice, the dictates of law, the principles of the constitution or the suggestions of humanity, can restrain your hands from shedding human blood in such an impious cause, we must then tell you that we will never submit to be hewers of wood or drawers of water for any ministry or nation in the world."

In the address to the king they signified their willingness to provide for the support and security of their civil governments and in time of war to grant supplies and raise forces for defense. In the address to Canada she was invited to send delegates to the next Continental Congress, which was appointed to convene May 10, 1775. Six days before the close of the session the Pennsylvania Assembly entertained the members of Congress at a dinner given at the City Tavern. On that occasion all present arose and drank in response to the toast — "May the sword of the parent never be stained with the blood of her children." Congress dissolved October 26th. It had sat with closed doors, but the addresses put forth occasioned eager discussion by Whigs and Tories throughout the country.

When Parliament reassembled after the Christmas vacation (January, 1775) the state of affairs in American at once claimed attention. In both chambers their cause was ably defended. Lord Chatham in the House of Lords moved an "address to his Majesty for the immediate removal of his troops from Boston"; and Burke, in the Commons, made his famous appeal for the Conciliation of the Colonies. Of the British army in America Chatham said: "You may call them an army of safety and of guard; but they are, in truth, an army of impotence and contempt; and, to make the folly equal to the disgrace, they are an army of irritation and vexation... Their force would be most disproportionately exerted against a brave, generous, and united people, with arms in their hands, and courage in their hearts: three millions of people, the genuine descendants of a valiant and pious ancestry, driven to those deserts by the narrow maxims of a superstitious tyranny. And is the spirit of persecution never to be appeased? Are the brave sons of those brave forefathers to inherit their sufferings, as they have inherited their virtues?"

Burke brought an array of facts and figures to appeal to reason and common sense, but he also warned his countrymen and plead for their distant brothers. "In effect," he said, "we suffer as much at home by this loosening of all ties, and concussion of all established opinions, as we do abroad. For, in order to prove that the Americans have no right to their liberties, we are every day endeavoring to subvert the maxims, which preserve the whole spirit of our own. To prove that the Americans ought not to be free, we are obliged to depreciate the value of freedom itself; and we never seem to gain a paltry advantage over them in debate, without attacking some of those principles, or deriding some of

those feelings, for which our ancestors have shed their blood... An Englishman is the unfittest person on earth to argue another Englishman into slavery... Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government; they will cling and grapple to you; and no force under heaven would be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it once be understood that your government may be one thing, and their privileges another; that these two things may exist without any mutual relation; the cement is gone; the cohesion is loosened; and everything hastens to decay and dissolution."

But wise words and affecting appeals were alike unavailing; Parliament only proceeded to adopt more stringent measures. An act was passed forbidding the fishermen of New England from fishing off the Banks of Newfoundland, thus striking a severe blow at one of Massachusetts' most flourishing industries. Massachusetts was declared in a state of rebellion and it was voted to increase the British force at Boston to ten thousand men. Gage was to be superseded by William Howe with Major-general Sir Henry Clinton and John Burgoyne to assist him. Lord Howe, brother of the general, was made admiral of the fleet in America. Late in the winter Gage received orders to arrest Samuel Adams and John Hancock and send them to England for trial. As the assembly of New York had refused to adopt the non-importation scheme of the "Association of the United Colonies" and had also declined to elect delegates to the Second Continental Congress, England hoped to divide the colonies north and south by a loyal province. But in this expectation she was disappointed, for notwithstanding the strong Tory element the patriot party carried the day. Under the lead of

Philip Schuyler and the Livingstons they called a convention and elected the congressional delegates.

In England the friends of America were unsuccessful in every effort for her relief. Lord Chatham introduced a bill (February, 1775) for the repeal of the eleven acts specified by the Continental Congress; it was defeated at the first reading. It was generally believed in England that the Americans would submit. It was asserted that farmers and backwoodsmen with no regular army, a scant supply of arms and ammunition, not even an organized general government, would never have the temerity to enter into a war with the foremost nation on the globe. It was almost impossible for a European to realize how favorable to the development of a free and happy people were the conditions of life in the New World. The term peasant had no application to the hardy, industrious, independent American educated in the public school and the town-meeting. The absence of the extremes of opulence and poverty and the level of comfort maintained by all classes promoted social equality. The religious training of the Puritans was conducive to right living. America possessed a higher average of intelligence, a more general public spirit, a purer social life, a more orderly class of "common people," than were to be found in any other nation at the close of the eighteenth century.

In March, 1775, Benjamin Franklin sailed from England, where for ten years he had been pleading the cause of a disaffected people; acting as agent for Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Georgia, and often considered an "ambassador for all America." This remarkable man was born in Boston (January 6, 1706) in a house on Milk Street, in the shadow of the Old South Meeting House. That he was one of seventeen children; that his father was a soap boiler and tallow candle maker;

that the boy was put to dipping candles when ten years old; that his passion for reading induced his father to apprentice him, at thirteen, to his brother James, a printer; that they disagreed, and that Benjamin ran away to Philadelphia when seventeen years old, landing there nearly penniless, is a well-known story to all. And the incident of his walking up Market Street, with a roll under each arm and munching the third, is as familiar to every American child as the hatchet and cherry tree of the Washington fable. But this penniless lad was destined to become a distinguished scientist, a shrewd and clever man of affairs, a great diplomatist, a profound thinker, a brilliant wit, a convincing preacher upon morals and conduct, a delightful writer and a man of such pleasing personality that he won a host of friends in three nations; all who met him being impressed by his ability, sincerity and kindly nature and by the breadth and liberality of his mind. When, after the passage of the Stamp Act, he was summoned before the House of Commons to be questioned upon the colonial difficulties, Burke declared: "It appeared to be an examination of a master by a parcel of school-boys." He wrote constantly for the press, and his witty satire presented the cause of the colonists in the most convincing manner. But one man, however great, could not stay the march of events, and fearing arrest if he remained in England, Franklin quietly sailed for Philadelphia. All hope of reconciliation was past, and Green the English historian thus places the responsibility: "The king was now supreme... The ministry was, in fact, a mere cloak for the direction of public affairs by George himself." The immense patronage controlled by the crown "was persistently used for the creation and maintenance in both Houses of Parliament of a majority directed by the King himself; and

its weight was seen in the steady action of such a majority. It was seen yet more in the subjection to which the ministry that bore Lord North's name was reduced. George was, in fact, the minister during the years of its existence; and the shame of the darkest hour of English history lies wholly at his door."

CHAPTER VI

THE REVOLUTION

At sunset on the evening of April 19, 1775, a division of the British army, worn with fatigue, encamped for the night upon Bunker's Hill, protected by the guns of the fleet in Boston harbor. These troops had been secretly dispatched long before dawn for the purpose of seizing the military stores which the Americans had collected at Concord and incidentally to arrest Samuel Adams and John Hancock who were lodging at Lexington. Paul Revere's ride had been their undoing. They had encountered the "embattled farmers" at Concord, and had they not received reinforcements at Lexington, they would have been unable to make good their retreat; as it was, nearly three hundred of their number were lying wounded or dead by the roadside. The first battle of the Revolution had been fought, and the news was being carried by hard-riding messengers to every part of New England and through all the colonies to the far South. Within a week the British army was shut up in Boston never to leave it until General Howe evacuted the city in the following year (March 17, 1776).

The military force besieging Boston had gathered in hot haste on receiving the news from Concord and Lexington, and the numbers were increased two months later after the battle of Bunker's Hill (June 17). It was a body of troops lacking proper equipment: arms were of

various patterns, clothes were unsuitable, but more important than all else was the scant supply of gunpowder. All were animated by a lofty purpose; they possessed high courage and those good fighting qualities that appear to be a natural inheritance of the English race. A great general was needed who should discipline these eager patriots into an army; and this was the task the Continental Congress assigned to George Washington who, by an unanimous vote, was appointed commander-in-chief of the American forces on June 15, 1775.

The life of Washington is so familiar that it is unnecessary to review it, but the greatness of the man demands a tribute, however brief. The perfection of Washington's moral character seems to place him above all other heroes of history on a lonely mountain peak to which they cannot climb. Animated by a lofty patriotism, a high sense of duty and a wise understanding, he possessed also executive power so splendidly developed that he was always equal to the demands of the occasion, and able to achieve amid the most adverse conditions. It has been well said that "Washington's best mental gift was a sound and discriminating judgment. The balance of his mental and moral powers was truly superb. Neither passion nor interest could blind him when it came to deliberating between men or methods."

The Second Continental Congress met at Philadelphia in what is now known as Independence Hall, May 10, 1775. All the thirteen colonies were represented. Peyton Randolph was again elected president, but shortly afterward returned to Virginia to preside over the House of Burgesses, when John Hancock was unanimously chosen to succeed him. Among the new members were Benjamin Franklin and George Clinton of New York, and on June 21st, Thomas Jefferson took his seat as a delegate from

Virginia in place of Randolph. Upon this body devolved the defence of the colonies. Still hesitating at a final severance from the mother country they adopted an address to the king, which was moved by Jay and seconded by Dickinson. This they dispatched to England by Richard Penn, an ardent loyalist, a peace-loving Quaker and a descendant of William Penn. They also addressed the people of Great Britain, of Ireland and of Canada. On the first of August, Congress adjourned to September 5th. On November 1st, it was learned that Penn's mission had failed, as the king refused to notice the petition of the Continental Congress, as "beneath the dignity of the government to acknowledge an assembly which had no constitutional or legal existence." But George III. made public answer, when on August 23d he issued a proclamation which declared the colonies in a state of armed rebellion, called upon civil and military officers and all good citizens to assist in its suppression and threatened with severe punishment all who should aid or abet the rebels.

On receiving news of this proclamation Congress proceeded with renewed energy to the establishment of civil government and the organization of the war. Supplies were voted for the army, and its numbers increased; and a committee was appointed to correspond with foreign powers. A postal service was inaugurated throughout the colonies and Franklin appointed postmaster-general. Resentment was deepened by the progress of hostilities in America and by the war measures adopted in England. The hiring of twenty thousand German troops to strengthen the army of invasion turned many a wavering loyalist to the patriot cause. The employment by George III. of foreign mercenaries against his own subjects was viewed with disgust by many Englishmen. The Duke of

Grafton said to the king: "Your majesty will find too late that twice the number will only increase the disgrace and never effect the purpose." But, as usual, the "king's friends" stood firm, and the measure was carried through Parliament. "Every means," wrote the king, "of distressing the Americans must meet with my concurrence." An act was passed authorizing the seizure of all American ships and cargoes and of the vessels of all nations trading with American ports. British captains were also empowered to impress the crews of captured American ships to serve against their country. In return, the Continental Congress granted permission for the equipment of privateers to prey upon British commerce, and on March 13, 1776, declared "all British vessels whatsoever lawful prize." On April 6th, Congress voted to throw open American ports to the commerce of all the world, "not subject to the king of Great Britain." This established free trade, as English custom-houses were abolished and no provision made to replace them. In May, John Adams moved that state governments be organized in "each one of the united colonies, where no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs had as yet been established." After two days of debate the motion was adopted on the tenth. Congress had already selected a flag by increasing the red and white stripes in an old English merchant flag to thirteen to represent the colonies and retaining on a blue field the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew. This flag was first raised on New Year's day, 1776, over Washington's headquarters at Cambridge.[1]

The Tory party in America was large and influential. When Howe evacuated Boston, eleven hundred Tories

[1] The present flag of the United States was adopted June 14, 1777.

sailed with him for Halifax. Among these refugees were several Episcopal clergymen and a great number of crown officials and of those belonging to the wealthy and aristocratic class. Throughout the colonies were many who dreaded civil war and were honest and sincere in their attachment to the great nation of which they formed a part.

During the months while Congress was providing for the safety of the country and by so doing exercising sovereign authority, the patriot press urged a complete severance from Great Britain as desirable and necessary; and far-seeing men were everywhere proclaiming the same truth. In January appeared a pamphlet written by Thomas Paine entitled "Common Sense." He advocated independence and presented his arguments in a vivid and caustic style, interspersed with impassioned pleading: "O! ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose, not only the tyranny, but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia, and Africa, have long expelled her. Europe regards her like a stranger, and England has given her warning to depart. O! receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind." Over one hundred thousand copies of this pamphlet were sold, and Washington testified to "its working a powerful change in the minds of many men." The desire for independence was general throughout New England, but in the Middle and Southern colonies a powerful Tory sentiment prevailed; nevertheless day by day amongst all classes the idea of independence grew and strengthened in preparation for the birth of a nation. Samuel Adams was the earliest advocate of independence; John Adams, Franklin, Henry, Jefferson, Washington and other distinguished patriots more slowly reached the

same conclusion. Dickinson whose "Farmer's Letters" had been influential in arousing the people in defense of their rights was throughout the leader of the conservatives. A great number of people felt that they were "opposing an administration and not overturning a government." But the logic of events dominated the situation. In electing delegates to a congress to protect their common interests the people of the thirteen colonies committed a national act, for the assembled delegates legislated for the whole country. The sovereign power was thus vested in the Continental Congress and that body in its national capacity raised troops, provided for defense, voted money as required for public purposes, opened the ports to foreign commerce, authorized the formation of state governments and adopted a flag.

In the early spring of 1776 members of Congress began to request their assemblies to instruct them regarding their course upon the question of independence. The first to take action was North Carolina, which colony declared for Independence in April, a result hastened by the threatened invasion of the British army under Sir Henry Clinton. In May Rhode Island, Massachusetts and Virginia voted to sever the bond with England. Massachusetts requested the people of that province to express their sentiments in town-meetings. The response was a series of declarations most nobly patriotic. The following is from the address of Boston: "The whole United Colonies are upon the verge of a glorious revolution. We have seen the petitions to the king rejected with disdain. For the prayer of peace he has tendered the sword; for liberty, chains; for safety, death. Loyalty to him is now treason to our country. We think it absolutely impracticable for these colonies to be ever again subject to or dependent upon Great Britain, without endangering the

very existence of the State. Placing, however, unbounded confidence in the supreme councils of the Congress, we are determined to wait, most patiently wait, till their wisdom shall dictate the necessity of making a declaration of independence. In case the Congress should think it necessary for the safety of the United Colonies to declare them independent of Great Britain, the inhabitants, with their lives and the remnant of their fortunes, will most cheerfully support them in the measure."

On June 7th in the Continental Congress Richard Henry Lee of Virginia offered the motion which was seconded by John Adams: — "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.

"That it is expedient forthwith to take the most effectual measures for forming foreign alliances.

"That a plan of confederation be prepared and transmitted to the respective colonies for their consideration and approbation."

The matter was debated for several days. No speech upon the subject is extant, but Jefferson wrote a summary of the proceedings wherein he says: "It appearing in the course of these debates that the colonies of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and South Carolina, were not yet matured for falling from the parent stem, but that they were fast advancing to that state, it was thought most prudent to wait awhile for them." As a result of this decision the further consideration of the subject was postponed until July 1st.

In order to facilitate matters a committee of five was elected to prepare a declaration — Thomas Jefferson, John

Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman and Robert R. Livingston. A committee of one from each colony was also chosen to arrange a plan of confederation, and a committee of five to prepare treaties to be proposed to foreign nations. During the interval the political situation was warmly debated, but with happy results, for all the colonies fell into line except New York. Notwithstanding the efforts of John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, Robert R. Livingston and George Clinton, it was impossible to gain a majority for decisive action and New York failed to instruct her delegates. There was no doubt that the popular vote was for independence, and on June 29th an article in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post* suggested as a suitable name for the new nation "The United States of America."

The congressional committee requested their chairman to draft a declaration of independence and Jefferson, thereupon, wrote that memorable document; he submitted it to the criticism of John Adams and of Franklin and each made slight verbal alterations. The committee unanimously accepted it, and on June 28th it was presented to Congress and laid upon the table. The consideration of Lee's motion declaring independence was resumed on July 1st. On that day there were fifty-one members present who represented the highest life of the colony in the merchant, planter, lawyer, jurist, clergyman and scholar: an able and honorable body of men animated by a sincere love of country and faithful to a high ideal of political freedom. The principal speeches in the debate were an eloquent appeal for acceptance by John Adams and the reply of John Dickinson who advocated delay. Dickinson said: "We ought not to commit our country upon an alternative when to recede would be infamy, and to persist might be destruction... Before such an irrevoca-

ble step shall be taken, we ought to know the disposition of the great powers; and how far they will permit any one or more of them to interfere. The erection of an independent empire on this continent is a phenomenon in the world; its effects may be immense, and may vibrate round the globe. The formation of our government, and an agreement in the terms of our confederation, ought to precede the assumption of our station among sovereigns. When this is done, and the people perceive that they and their posterity are to live under well-regulated constitutions they will be encouraged to look forward to independence, as completing the noble system of their political happiness. The objects nearest to them are now enveloped in clouds, and those more distant appear confused; the relation one citizen is to bear to another, and the connection one State is to have with another, they do not, cannot know. The boundaries of the colonies ought to be fixed before the declaration. The unlocated lands ought also to be solemnly appropriated to the benefit of all. Upon the whole, when things shall thus be deliberately rendered firm at home and favorable abroad, then let America, *attollens humeris famam et fata nepotum,* bearing up her glory and the destiny of her descendants, advance with majestic steps and assume her station among the sovereigns of the world."

For the consideration of the question Congress had resolved itself into a committee of the whole and the vote taken at the close of the day, before the committee arose, stood nine colonies for independence. The vote of Delaware was a tie, as one of her delegates was absent, and South Carolina and Pennsylvania voted in the negative. The final vote in regular session of Congress was taken the next day, July 2nd. The absent member from Delaware was present and voted in the affirmative and a like

result was obtained for Pennsylvania by the absence of Dickinson and Morris who, unwilling to take the decisive step, remained away and thus left a majority to vote for independence. The South Carolina delegates decided to accept the measure, and as the New York delegation had no authority to act they were excused from voting. Twelve colonies, therefore, adopted Lee's motion declaring that they were "free and independent States" and "absolved from all allegiance to the British crown."

On the following day John Adams wrote to his wife, Abigail Adams: "Yesterday the greatest question was decided which ever was debated in America, and a greater, perhaps, never was nor will be decided among men. I am well aware of the toil and blood and treasure that it will cost to maintain the Declaration and support and defend these States. Yet, through all the gloom, I can see the rays of ravishing light and glory. I can see that the end is worth more than all the means and that posterity will triumph in that day's transaction, even although we shall rue it, which I trust in God we shall not."

On the third, Congress considered the Declaration presented by the committee. A clause censuring George III. for encouraging the slave trade was stricken out and Jefferson himself has explained the reason: "The clause reprobating the enslaving the inhabitants of Africa was struck out in complaisance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, and who, on the contrary, wished to continue it. Our Northern brethren also, I believe, felt a little tender under those censures; for though their people had very few slaves themselves, yet they had been pretty considerable carriers to others."

The amended declaration was adopted July 4, 1776. On the 9th it was presented to the newly-elected as-

sembly of New York. Under the leadership of Jay the assembly unanimously adopted it and resolved to support it "with their fortunes and their lives." On July 19th Congress ordered the Declaration engrossed on parchment with the title "The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America," and on August 2nd the engrossed copy was signed by the members present.

The Declaration was everywhere received with demonstrations of joy. Church bells were rung, drums beaten, cannon fired and the American flag carried in processions. In many places the king's effigy and the royal emblems were publicly burned and in New York the patriots pulled down the leaden statue of George III., which stood in Bowling Green, in order that it might be melted into bullets. There were bonfires, illuminations and toasts innumerable. The people assembled in public places to hear read the proclamation of their freedom and services of prayer and thanksgiving in the churches were not omitted. Samuel Adams wrote of the universal joy: "The people, I am told, recognize the resolution as though it were a decree promulgated from Heaven."

The American people were now, under God, masters of their own destiny; the sovereign authority had passed from the crown to the people. Each colony had its own independent existence in the body politic and yet all were joined in a national bond, — an arrangement that required a nice adjustment of parts to the whole, but unhappily this could not be accomplished without friction. Local pride was strong, but a national feeling was naturally of slow growth; it could not at once spring into life. On July 12th the committee of thirteen reported to Congress articles of confederation drafted by John Dickinson. These were not entirely satisfactory; long debates followed; difficulties thickened arising from the progress of the

war, and it was sixteen months before Congress finally adopted a plan of confederation. This was transmitted to the States November 15, 1777; by July following nine States had accepted it, but owing to a controversy over the disposal of the western lands the action in some of the States was delayed. Notwithstanding the necessity for some form of stable government it required more than three years to secure the ratification of the Articles of Confederation by all the States. This was finally accomplished March 1, 1781, and the United States from that day became one among the nations. During this time Congress exercised the supreme authority and under its direction the war was carried forward to success.

In reviewing the period of the Revolution we recognize that the most serious difficulties encountered by the Americans arose from their own political situation. They had more to fear from the condition of affairs in America than they had from British power or superior military skill. The war was not popular in England among the masses and enlistments were so inadequate that in order to obtain recruits George III. determined to hire German troops. The contest was commonly spoken of as the "King's War," and in Parliament a small but powerful group, including the most distinguished English statesmen, were in sympathy with the principles for which the Americans were contending and embarrassed the government on all occasions. The difficulty of conducting a war across the barrier of the Atlantic can scarcely be comprehended at the present day when science has almost eliminated distance. Moreover England's neighbors were both powerful and jealous. France, burning to avenge the loss of Canada; Spain, determined to regain Gibraltar; Prussia, indignant at the treatment the great Frederick had received from George III.; and Holland a rival

in trade ever on the lookout for commercial advantages. All the trading nations were eager for the destruction of the monopolies established by the English navigation laws and welcomed the prospect of the opening of American ports to the world's commerce.

The Americans proved their valor throughout the war. Howe, shut up in Boston for a year, was finally obliged to evacuate the city; the English were outgeneraled at Trenton and Princeton; and after the battle of Monmouth Clinton's well-equipped troops, driven across New Jersey, were glad to reach the shelter of New York; Burgoyne's fine army surrendered at Saratoga; and Cornwallis, hemmed in by the French fleet, was forced to a like fate at Yorktown. The Americans did not lack the pluck to fight nor want for skilful generals; their difficulties which it seems incredible that they could have surmounted were, as has been said, the result of the political situation. The colonies were united to resist England, but were jealous of the powers of Congress, and this sentiment was to a great extent responsible for the short terms of enlistment by which Washington's plans were constantly jeopardized. The people feared a standing army and objected to a large force being organized by direction of Congress as placing too great power in the hands of that body. The troops, enlisted under the laws and regulations of their own States, were unwilling to conform to the decrees of the national assembly. They objected to their commanding officers being appointed by Congress, desiring to serve under their own state officers. Their independent spirit proved a hindrance to military discipline, for obedience was not natural to the American born and the social equality of officers and men increased the difficulty. As the short terms of enlistment were subversive of all discipline Congress voted a bounty to

those who enlisted for the war and to every private at the end of his term of service one hundred acres of land and to all officers larger land grants. Finally Washington was given authority over all officers under the rank of Brigadier-General.

Another source of annoyance to Washington was the arrival of foreign officers who expected to receive important positions in the army and who too often aroused resentment and jealousy among the Americans. There were several who rendered valuable services, notably Generals Kosciusko and Pulaski and Barons De Kalb and von Steuben. Very dear to Washington was Lafayette, that gallant young Frenchman who abandoned the pleasures of the court and the society of his child-wife to become at nineteen a major-general in the American army.

From first to last there was the pressing need of money; the people had so long fought British taxation that they were loath to permit any authority outside the state governments to exercise that right and there was the still deeper conviction of the danger of concentrating power in military hands. So inadequate were the resources of the treasury that contempt for the depreciated currency became embodied in a phrase long in use to express utter lack of value — "not worth a continental."

It is not surprising that the troops were constantly refusing to reënlist, that they abandoned the ranks and returned home to gather in the harvests and that it became necessary to draft and to offer large bounties. Lafayette wrote to his wife: "Human nature has its limits. No European army would suffer the tenth part of what the Americans suffer. It takes *citizens* to support hunger, nakedness, toil and the total want of pay which constitute the condition of our soldiers, the hardi-

est and most patient that are to be found in the world." A distinguished English historian asserts: "Few braver and truer men were ever collected around a great commander than those who remained with Washington during that dreary winter in Valley Forge."

America in her isolated position was sorely in need of allies, and early in 1776 Congress dispatched Silas Deane as a commercial agent to Europe to obtain supplies and to make overtures looking toward the establishment of friendly relations with England's old enemy, France. He was later joined by Arthur Lee, of Virginia, and Benjamin Franklin. Deane and Lee became involved in commercial transactions that necessitated their recall. Franklin remained and was the first American minister at the French court. He was extremely popular. Jefferson once wrote: "There appeared to me more respect and veneration attached to the character of Dr. Franklin in France than to that of any other person in the same country, native or foreign." It has been claimed that even the enthusiasm of France for Napoleon never equalled that for Franklin. It was to this personal influence that the constant assistance of France was largely due. At what cost of labor and anxiety of mind Franklin sustained American credit, acted as a navy department in behalf of her sailors and imprisoned seamen, attended to her foreign commercial and banking business, as well as to his diplomatic duties, can never be realized. His labors were immense and ended only by the treaty of peace.

After the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga October 16, 1777, France openly espoused the American cause and the French Treaty and Alliance was signed on February 6, 1778. France faithfully maintained the treaty and America was most fortunate in gaining her assistance.

L. of C.

The friendliness displayed by France for the United States was viewed with alarm in England and the conduct of the war aroused extreme irritation. Alluding to the employment of Hessians, Chatham declared in the House of Lords: "You cannot conquer America... If I were an American as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms — never, never, never." With passionate eloquence he inveighed against employing, as an ally, the Indian with his scalping knife. He proposed a plan of conciliation which was, to leave the colonies in absolute control of their affairs but united in a federal bond with England. It was rejected by Parliament, and shortly after came the news of Burgoyne's surrender, which filled the country with alarm and dismay. Parliament reassembling after the Christmas vacation entered upon a stormy session. Chatham, Burke, Fox, Richmond, Conway and other friends of America were united to oppose the ministry. At last even the king, though stubbornly declaring for severe measures, was forced to consent to an attempt at conciliation. On February 17, 1778, Lord North presented a bill which was received in complete silence by the Commons, so amazing were its proposals when emanating from the prime minister. By it the tax on tea was repealed, the act regulating the charter of Massachusetts was annulled and the right to tax America was forever renounced. It was further provided that commissioners be at once dispatched to America with authority to negotiate a peace and with full powers to proclaim an amnesty for all political offenses and to suspend the operation of any act of Parliament relating to the colonies passed since 1763. Everything was conceded that had been demanded, but it was too late. The triumph at Saratoga had encouraged the expectation of

success, the French treaty was about to be signed and the Americans had no faith in any proposals fathered by Lord North, although he declared that he had always favored the concessions demanded by them and had but carried out the policy of his predecessors and the wishes of the king. His published correspondence bears out this statement and exhibits his pitiful weakness in the hands of his master, George III.

Charles Fox, Lord Holland's brilliant and profligate son, a great statesman, a warm friend of America and said to be "the most brilliant and accomplished debater the world ever saw," replied to Lord North. He sarcastically congratulated him upon attaining to the position long held by the Whig party and advocating measures for which Burke had pleaded so earnestly three years previously. He pertinently asked whether the ministry were aware that France had concluded a treaty of alliance with the independent States of America. A stormy scene followed and Lord North, obliged to reply, answered evasively: "that he had no *official* intelligence on the subject." The bill was carried through both houses and signed by the king March 11, 1778. The commissioners arrived in America in June and remained until October. The American Congress positively refused to treat with them unless Great Britain first acknowledged the independence of the United States, but complacently ordered Lord North's bill printed and distributed. Before returning the commissioners published a manifesto addressed to the American people offering the rejected terms to each separate State and threatening a severe prosecution of the war if their overtures were rejected. The only effect of this communication was to excite derision.

The news of the signing of the Treaty of Alliance be-

tween France and America was promptly met in England by a declaration of war. Great Britain also faced the prospect of a contest with Spain, for it was stipulated in the treaty that Spain should be privileged to join the alliance if she so desired. To add to the difficulties of the situation Frederick the Great publicly opened the port of Dantzic to American cruisers and prohibited Hessian soldiers from passing through his dominions on their way to the seaboard. Beset by danger the people of England rallied to the support of the government in the prosecution of the foreign war: the American contest was a different affair, for although rebels the Americans were yet kinsmen. The Whigs felt that the cause of liberty in England and America was identical and that the triumph of liberty in the New World would insure its continuance in the Old. The Marquis of Rockingham, leader of the party, the Duke of Richmond, General Conway, Lord Camden, Fox and other prominent Whigs felt that nothing short of complete independence would satisfy America and they were anxious to grant her the liberty she desired. If at peace with America, all the forces of the nation could be concentrated for the impending conflict which threatened to involve the greater part of Europe, for England stood alone, engirt by powerful foes, her armies in America unsuccessful and clouds of discontent and rebellion arising over India and Ireland. In this crisis all eyes turned to Chatham as the one statesman of sufficient genius and widespread influence to carry the country safely, as he had on previous occasions, through a period of national peril.

Lord North urged the king to accept his resignation and comply with the demand of the nation by placing Chatham at the head of the ministry. But the king, hating Chatham and the cause of reform he represented,

and regardless of the safety and welfare of the country, was determined to maintain the sway he had so long exercised by means of a corrupt political system. Chatham and the men he would summon to his support would never submit to this personal rule: constitutional government would be respected and upheld. The king wrote to Lord North: "the Opposition would make me a slave for the remainder of my days." "Whilst any ten men in the kingdom will stand by me I will not give myself up to bondage." "I will never put my hand to what would make me miserable to the last hour of my life." "I will rather see any form of government introduced into this island and lose my crown than wear it as a disgrace." But the question was destined to be settled without the king's aid. Believing that the only means of extricating England from her perilous position was to concede the independence of America, the Duke of Richmond announced his intention of moving for the withdrawal of all the British naval and military forces in America and for the negotiation of a peace on terms acceptable to the American Congress. Chatham, who had so ably defended the American cause and who had pleaded so eloquently for reconciliation, viewed with despair the proposed dismemberment of the great empire which his genius had created. He still hoped for a federal union between England and America, relying on latent loyalty in America and on the fact that the French treaty was not popular in New England where the freedom-loving, stern Calvinists viewed with no little alarm an alliance with a Catholic and despotic power.

On April 7, 1778, the Duke of Richmond presented his motion in the House of Lords. Chatham, supported by his son, William Pitt, and his son-in-law, Lord Mahon, was assisted to his seat; he was swathed to the knees in

flannel; his suit of rich black velvet intensified his pallor. "He looked like a dying man, yet never was seen a figure of more dignity." He arose with difficulty and leaning upon his crutches replied to the Duke of Richmond's address with much of his old eloquence: "My Lords," he said, "I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me; that I am still alive, to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient monarchy!... Where is the man who will dare to advise it? My Lords, his Majesty succeeded to an empire as great in extent as its reputation was unsullied. Shall we tarnish the lustre of this nation by an ignominious surrender of its rights and fairest possessions? Shall this great nation, that has survived, whole and entire, the Danish depredations, the Scottish inroads, the Norman Conquest — that has stood the threatened invasion of the Spanish Armada, now fall prostrate before the House of Bourbon?" A little later Chatham again arose, vainly attempted to speak and sank in a convulsion, supported by the arms of those near him. He was carried unconscious from the House and died on May 11th, in his seventieth year.

In his death the king triumphed, for there was no statesman of sufficient power to rally an effective opposition. Under the lead of George III. and Lord North events progressed to that memorable day, October 19, 1781, when the British army laid down its arms at Yorktown to the music of its bands playing an old-time tune — "The World Turned Upside Down."

This great victory filled America with joy and England with dismay. On receiving the news Lord North in great agitation paced the room exclaiming: "O God! it is all over! it is all over!" George III. was still determined to defy fate, but the nation was not blind to its peril: at war with France, Spain and Holland, while

Russia, Prussia, Sweden and Denmark maintained the "Armed Neutrality," a yet greater danger was in their midst. Ireland in 1779 had raised an army of forty thousand volunteers to repel an anticipated attack by the French and Spanish fleets. That danger past and encouraged by the example of America, her able statesmen threatened to use this force in an attempt to obtain a redress of grievances for their misgoverned country. The situation was desperate. Great public meetings were held in London demanding "peace with America," while in Parliament Burke and Fox in burning words reviewed the conduct of the war and assailed the ministry. William Pitt, the illustrious son of an illustrious father, brilliantly supported them; Pitt was at this time but twenty-three years of age, and Burke declared he was "not merely a chip of the old block, but the old block itself." On February 22, 1782, General Conway in the House of Commons moved an address to the king petitioning for the discontinuance of the war with the American States; it was defeated by a single vote. On February 27th he moved for a cessation of the war and the motion was carried by a majority of nineteen. Lord North's resignation followed. "The blow," says Green, "which had shattered the attempt of England to wield an autocratic power over her Colonies had shattered the attempt of its king to establish an autocratic power over England itself. The ministry which bore the name of Lord North had been a mere screen for the administration of George the Third, and its ruin was the ruin of the system he had striven to build up. Never again was the crown to possess such a power as he had wielded during the past ten years." The king was now forced by circumstances to place Lord Rockingham at the head of the ministry. Among the other members of the Whig cabinet were the

Duke of Richmond, Lord Shelburne, Fox, Conway Lord Camden and the Duke of Grafton, all of whom had bravely advocated the American cause. The Congress of the United States appointed Franklin, Jay and John Adams commissioners to negotiate a treaty of peace and they met at Paris in the spring. There were many questions to be settled, claims of France and Spain to be adjusted and propositions and counter propositions to be considered. Several months were consumed in the negotiations and the provisional articles of the treaty of peace between England and the United States were not signed until November 30 (1782). By agreement between the different powers, Spain was granted Florida and remained in possession of Louisiana; Canada, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland were retained by England, but the right of the Americans to fish off the banks of Newfoundland was conceded. An English writer has said: "Whatever might be the importance of American independence in the history of England it was of unequaled moment in the history of the world. If it crippled for a while the supremacy of the English nation, it founded the supremacy of the English race. From the hour of American Independence the life of the English people has flowed not in one current, but in two; and while the older has shown little signs of lessening, the younger has fast risen to a greatness which has changed the face of the world."

CHAPTER VII

THE CONFEDERATION

The five years (1782-1787) intervening between the treaty of peace and the adoption of the Constitution of the United States were the formative years of the Government, and were beset by so many perils that they have become known as the "Critical Period of American History."

A hasty survey of the condition of the country will enable us more easily to realize this struggle. The territory ceded by the treaty extended from the Atlantic Ocean westward to the Mississippi, and from the Great Lakes and a line running eastward from them, southward to the thirty-first parallel and the southern border of Georgia. This great territory was divided among the thirteen States, and although state boundaries were not in all cases clearly defined, they were afterward adjusted without serious contention. The greater part of this vast tract was a wilderness, nearly the whole population being confined to the neighborhood of the Atlantic seaboard, although there were a few scattered military posts and small settlements west of the Alleghanies. The people numbered less than four million souls, of whom about 600,000 were negro slaves. In the wilderness wandered the ever-dreaded foe, the Indian; and the nearness of Spain in Florida and at the mouth of the Mississippi was soon to prove a serious menace. The country was exhausted by

the long struggle through which it had just passed; it had no credit abroad, and an empty treasury at home; but worse than all else, the States which had united to resist a common danger, now that it was past, jealously drew apart, and the vital defects in the existing government were soon apparent. Under these adverse conditions, the new nation confronted the future.

At the close of the war, the people throughout the country were aroused to great bitterness of feeling by the return of the Refugees, as those Tories were called who had sought protection of the British, or withdrawn to a place of safety during the war. An article of the treaty provided for their safe return, but although thus protected, the people were so hostile to them that many fled the country, and those who remained had to endure insult and persecution, called forth by the most extreme animosity.

Another cause of excitement was the founding of the Society of the Cincinnati (April, 1783). The members of this order were officers of the Army and Navy and Washington was their first President. The objects of the Society were: To perpetuate in peace the friendships formed in war; as loyal citizens to cherish the union between the States; and to provide in case of need for the widows and orphans of deceased members. The order was to be perpetuated by descent, through the eldest male representative of the families of members. French officers who had served in the war were admitted to membership, and thus the emblem of the order, an eagle of gold, attached to a blue ribbon edged with white, came to be worn at the Court of France. We who at this day are accustomed to the satisfaction with which the American press and society appear to view the transference of the fair daughters of the Republic, and their great fortunes, to

the keeping of foreigners of rank, can hardly estimate the hatred of titles and aristocratic privileges, which provoked the outcry against the Cincinnati. It was declared that the founders intended to create an hereditary aristocracy in America, a new order of knighthood, and it was claimed that the clause permitting foreign membership would admit of European influences affecting national life. Pamphlets were published on the subject and the newspapers were filled with letters expressing the indignation of the writers; for, in those days, every grievance gave rise to a flood of such literature. So deep-seated was the opposition that at the first annual meeting Washington prevailed on the Society to abandon hereditary membership. The principal objection being thus removed, the excitement gradually subsided.

A question of national importance resulted from that westward advance which, beginning before the close of the Revolution, has continued until the present day. That colonizing spirit, which seems peculiarly English, led the early settlers amid incredible hardships and ever-present danger from hostile Indians, to penetrate the vast wilderness of the West. It is interesting to look somewhat closely into this movement, for we are told that "Without studying this creation of a national domain between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi we cannot understand how our Federal Union came to be formed." This vast country was held by right of conquest from the English, or else by right of English charters, by several States and under conflicting claims. Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland, however, were not claimants, and viewed with distrust the aggrandizement of the larger States. After many protests, Maryland finally refused to ratify the Articles of Confederation unless the States consented to surrender their Western

territory to become the common property of the United States. This gave rise to much heated discussion, but in February (1780) New York decided to cede all her claims. In September following Congress recommended that all States cede their Western possessions, and a month later resolved: "That all such lands ceded should be sold in lots to settlers, and the money used for Federal purposes, and that, in time, States should be formed there and admitted into the Union, with the same rights as the original thirteen." On the first of March, 1784, Virginia ceded all of her great Western domain, and by the spring of 1785 all the States had surrendered their Western possessions except North Carolina and Georgia.[1]

Maryland, seeing the probable compliance with her demand, on March 1, 1781, signed the Articles of Confederation, being the last State to ratify. To quote Mr. Fiske: "As it was Massachusetts that took the decisive step in bringing on the Revolutionary War when she threw the tea into Boston Harbor, so it was Maryland that, by leading the way toward the creation of a National domain, laid the corner-stone of our Federal Union. Equal credit must be given to Virginia for her magnanimity in making the desired surrender. It was New York, indeed, that set the praiseworthy example; but New York, after all, surrendered only a shadowy claim, whereas Virginia gave up a magnificent and princely territory, of which she was actually in possession."

The ceded lands were called the Northwest Territory, and a plan was soon formed for colonizing a part of this vast tract with soldiers of the late war. Congress authorized the sale of 5,000,000 acres, for which 66⅔ cents

[1] North Carolina ceded her lands in February, 1790; Georgia in April, 1802.

an acre was paid. One and a half million acres were purchased by the Ohio Company, which was the first land company formed in America.

It was now necessary to organize a government for the Northwest Territory, and this was done by the adoption of the famous Ordinance of 1787. By it Congress declared: "The States to be formed therein shall forever remain a part of this Confederacy of the United States of America," which was the first authoritative utterance regarding secession. By Article VI. of the Ordinance, slavery was prohibited forever north of the Ohio River; an act that met the approval of the Northern States, but only gained the consent of Georgia and South Carolina by this saving clause: "Provided always that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her services, as aforesaid." That was the first Fugitive Slave Law passed by Congress. "I doubt," said Daniel Webster, "whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked and lasting character than the Ordinance of 1787."

About this time, in what is now Tennessee, but was then Western North Carolina, the frontiersmen under the leadership of one John Sevier, set up a State for themselves and called it Franklin. It was never recognized by Congress, and after a turbulent existence of about two years, it fell apart from the weight of internal dissensions and outward pressure.

The bitterness aroused by the Refugees, the excitement over the Cincinnati, and the discussions regarding the Northwest Territory, simply added to the discontent and unrest of the times. The real perils which the young

nation had to face arose from three causes — an empty treasury, a weak government, and the sovereignty of the States; for at every step were met those claims of state rights which were destined to a *final* settlement eighty years later by the Civil War.

After the declaration of Independence, the States had gradually organized their governments on a general plan, each with a Governor and two Houses or Legislative Assemblies. These state Governments were adequate to the needs of the States; it was the general Government, the Confederation, whose weakness brought the country to the verge of anarchy. Congress consisted of a single House, to which delegates were annually sent, and in which each State had one vote. It was empowered to declare war, make treaties, coin money, borrow money, have control of the army and navy, manage Indian affairs, and have charge of the postal service. The fatal defects in this government were four. First, no action relating to foreign affairs, the military or naval force or to the national finances could be taken without the assent of nine States; five States could, therefore, defeat legislation on these important questions. Second, no power was conferred upon Congress to collect duties, or regulate foreign commerce. The revenue of the general Government was thus limited to what it could obtain by borrowing, issuing paper money, or by making requisitions upon the States. Third, the lack of all means of enforcing its authority. Congress could make requisitions upon the States, but if the States neglected to comply there was no power by which the Government could enforce its demands. And, finally, Congress had no power to alter or amend the Articles of Confederation. A government thus hampered, with uncertain and insufficient revenue, with no power to compel respect for its

authority and no means of bettering its condition, must naturally drift to anarchy or revolution.

At the close of the war, the Government was heavily indebted to the army for pay long overdue. There was, naturally, much discontent among the troops, who found they were to be mustered out of service without any immediate prospect of compensation. The main army was encamped at Newburgh, and from there a letter was sent forth and circulated through the regiments. It was written by Major John Armstrong, but directly instigated by General Gates. A few sentences taken from it will denote its character: "My friends, after seven long years your suffering courage has conducted the United States of America through a doubtful and bloody war; and peace returns to bless whom? A Country willing to redress your wrongs, cherish your worth and reward your services? Or is it rather a Country that tramples upon your rights, disdains your cries and insults your distress? If you have sense enough to discover and spirit to oppose tyranny, whatever garb it may assume, awake to your situation. If the present moment be lost, your threats hereafter will be as empty as your entreaties now." A copy of this letter fell into the hands of Washington, and, calling the officers together, he made a most affecting appeal to their honor and patriotism. He said: "As I was among the first who embarked in the cause of our common Country; as I have never left your side one moment, but when called from you on public duty; as I have been the constant companion and witness of your distress, it can scarcely be supposed that I am indifferent to your interests." He entreated them "not to take any measures which, in the calm light of reason, would lessen the dignity and sully the glory they had hitherto maintained." "Let me conjure you, in the name

of our common Country, as you value your own sacred honor, as you respect the rights of humanity and as you regard the military and National character of America, to express your utmost horror and detestation of the man who wickedly attempts to open the flood-gates of civil discord... By thus determining and thus acting...you will give one more proof of unexampled patriotism and patient virtue, rising superior to pressure of the most complicated sufferings." Having finished his address, he began reading to them a letter from a member of Congress, bearing on their case, but after a few sentences he stopped and put on a pair of spectacles (having never before worn them in public), remarking, as he did so: "I have grown gray in your service and now find myself growing blind." Which affecting words touched every heart. Having concluded the letter, Washington withdrew, but the result was no longer doubtful. Resolutions were passed with declared: "The officers of the American Army view with abhorrence, and reject with disdain, the infamous propositions contained in a late anonymous address to them"; and that: "No circumstance of distress or danger shall induce a conduct that may tend to sully the reputation and glory which they have acquired at the price of their blood and eight years of faithful service."

Washington urged upon Congress with great earnestness the claims of his soldiers, but the best that Congress could do was to give them notes bearing interest at six per cent.; soon, alas, to depreciate until they were worth but twelve cents on a dollar. The men were disbanded and returned quietly to their homes, as Washington wrote: "Without a settlement of their accounts and without a farthing of money in their pockets." There was one notable exception to this orderly retirement. Near

Philadelphia was stationed a small body of troops, who mutinied, marched into the city, surrounded the hall where Congress was sitting and noisily demanded their pay. Congress, unable to protect itself from insult, fled to Princeton. A government fleeing before a small body of malcontents was not calculated to inspire respect. In fact, the character of Congress had changed since its earlier days. The great men who had once constituted its strength had gradually withdrawn, as their services were required, in some cases, to represent their country abroad, or, more often, to assist in organizing the new Governments in their own States.

In June, 1783, the Commander-in-Chief sent to the Governor of each State his last official communication, a circular letter, which he called his "Legacy to the American People." In this letter Washington discussed the great political problems of the hour, with a breadth, wisdom and loyalty to great principles that proclaimed the patriot and statesman. He pleaded for a more perfect union of the States, a sacred regard for public and private justice, and a setting aside of all local prejudices, for the advantage of the whole people. He pointed out the necessity for establishing an adequate revenue and an honest financial policy. This letter was laid before the State Legislatures, printed in the newspapers, and so became familiar to the general public; and its wise counsel gradually came, amid the darkness of the times, to promise hope for the future to many a doubting patriot.

On the 23d of December, 1783, Washington appeared before Congress, then in session at Annapolis, and formally resigned his commission. The next day he proceeded to Mount Vernon, expressing his pleasure in the anticipation of years of contentment amid congenial surroundings. Henry Lee, alluding to this quiet resignation of all

authority by one so beloved and trusted that he could have placed himself, without doubt, at the head of the state, spoke with pleasing quaintness:[1] "To the horrid din of battle sweet peace succeeded, and our virtuous chief, mindful only of the common good, in a moment tempting personal aggrandisement...surrendering his power into the hands from which he had received it, converted his sword into a ploughshare, teaching an admiring world that to be truly great you must be truly good... First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen, he was second to none in the humble and endearing scenes of private life."

In 1784, Congress appointed Franklin, Adams and Jefferson commissioners to negotiate treaties of commerce with foreign nations. Franklin had been for six years Minister at the Court of France, and Adams was Minister at The Hague. Jefferson crossed the ocean and the three men met in Paris; but the task that confronted them was quite hopeless, for the most absurd ideas regarding America prevailed, and an insuperable obstacle to success was the fact that while the general Government could alone make treaties, yet each State could regulate its own commerce and impose duties as it saw fit, without let or hindrance from Congress. As Washington wrote: "We are one State to-day, and thirteen to-morrow. Who will treat with us on such terms?" The British Government at once recognized this difficulty, and when their Ambassador was approached, he asked the pertinent question: "Are you merely commissioned by Congress, or have you received separate powers from the separate States?" Under these conditions the Commission, naturally, failed of its object. Franklin returned to America,

[1] Funeral oration in memory of George Washington delivered before Congress December 26, 1799.

Jefferson taking his place as Minister to France, and Adams going as Minister to England (1785).

George the Third received the first American Minister to his Court most graciously and with all the ceremony usual on such occasions. Mr. Adams assured the King that he should be the happiest of men if he could be instrumental in restoring the old kindliness of feeling between people: "Who, though separated by an ocean and under different Governments, have the same language, a similar religion and kindred blood." The King declared his pleasure in "letting the circumstances of language, religion and blood have their natural and full effect." All this was very agreeable, but it did not advance the desired commercial treaty. The English still held possession of the forts on the Northwest frontier, on the plea that in some of the States the claims of British creditors had not yet been adjusted. We have had, in our own day, a striking illustration of the British solicitude for its citizens; for we have watched England on a *like* plea firmly establish herself in Egypt. America should be thankful that her forts were only retained for some thirteen years; and it is interesting to note that in each year the profit from the fur trade, which England thus secured, exceeded the entire sum due to the claimants. That American citizens had a counter claim, demanding indemnity for negro slaves carried off by the English, did not appear to trouble the British conscience, although Pitt, now Prime Minister, admitted that it was an act in direct violation of the treaty of peace, and that the claims for compensation were just. Added to the old difficulties encountered by the commissioners were complications caused by the English Navigation Acts, and the increasing jealousy felt in England toward the new nation as it became evident that she would be a future rival in trade.

In France a kindlier feeling toward the United States naturally prevailed, and Jefferson was able to obtain a great reduction in the duty on whale oil, whaling being an important industry of New England. Finally, a treaty of commerce was made with Prussia, and a treaty of peace with Morocco; by the latter, after paying a large sum of money, American vessels secured immunity from attack by those pirates who preyed upon the commerce of all Europe.

In the United States we must note two factors which were destined to contribute to her future greatness. The first was the assurance of religious liberty. The Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 compelled every member of the Legislature to declare his belief in the Christian religion. This was disliked, even in that stronghold of Calvinism; but when the Legislature of Virginia proposed to assess: "All taxable property for the support of teachers of the Christian religion," the opposition throughout the State was so great that the bill was never put to vote. Instead was passed, January 16, 1786, this statute, written by Thomes Jefferson: "No man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place or ministry whatsoever, nor shall suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief. Opinion in matters of religion shall in no wise diminish, enlarge or affect civil capacities. The rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind." Maryland at once followed the good example of her neighbor and proclaimed religious liberty. In all the other States the laws constraining religious freedom were gradually repealed until the principle of the Virginia Statute prevailed throughout the land. The Constitution affirms this right, for it decrees that: "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States."

To the second factor, the mechanical genius of the people, may be attributed no small measure of the immense material prosperity of the country. Mr. Francis Walker, in *The Making of the Nation,* puts this fact most forcibly. He says in part: "In other countries it is only picked men, a select few, who possess mechanical insight and aptitude, the power of instantaneously — because instinctively — seizing upon mechanical relations, together with a high degree of native efficiency in the use of tools. With us the rule is the other way...as a great organ of English opinion has said: 'Invention is a normal function of the American brain. The American invents as the Greek chiseled, as the Venetian painted, as the modern Italian sings.'" This wonderful power was possessed to a remarkable degree by the men of the northern States, especially those of New England — the Yankees. Gradually, at the North, there was to arise a powerful manufacturing and commercial class, while at the South, the invention of the cotton gin was to add immeasurably to the wealth and consequent power of the planters. Even in the early days of the republic, while these diverse interests were, as yet, comparatively feeble, they began to exert an influence on its political history.

On that dark page upon which is written the early financial history of the United States is recounted the gloomy record of a time during which, as Madison said, "Congress kept the vessel from sinking; but it was by standing constantly at the pump, not by stopping the leaks." The first Department of the Government to be organized was the Treasury. In 1776, the year of the Declaration of Independence, all financial matters were relegated to a committee of five called the Committee of the Treasury. In 1779 the system was reorganized and the Board of Treasury established, consisting of three com-

missioners not members of Congress and of two members of Congress. This Board of Treasury was in force until 1781, but it was so inefficient that it became necessary to place the department in the charge of one man, to be called the Superintendent of Finance, and that man was the great financier, Robert Morris.

Robert Morris was an Englishman by birth, who, having come to this country when a young lad, became in feeling thoroughly American. His business ability made him, at thirty, a partner in a large mercantile house, where he acquired a great fortune and an intimate knowledge of trade and commerce. He lived in Philadelphia, in great magnificence for those days, entertained handsomely, and was well liked for his genial and kindly nature. He was a member of the Continental Congress for three years, and signed the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation. He was wise, energetic and patriotic; and, above all, a practical business man who was familiar with the principles of public finance. Three days after taking office he laid before Congress his plan for a National Bank. This was to be called the Bank of North America, and was to be established at Philadelphia. Its capital was to be $400,000 in gold and silver, and its notes were to be receivable as specie for duties and taxes in every State and by the United States. Morris claimed that it would afford to the individuals of all the States a medium of exchange and would be particularly useful to merchants and traders. There was the usual outcry against the usurpation of authority by Congress, but the charter was finally granted, it being carefully stated, however, that the bank "was not to exercise powers in any one of the States repugnant to the Laws or Constitution of that State." Later, several of the States granted it State charters, and

it so prospered that in three years its cash accounts arose to the value of nearly 6,000,000 Mexican dollars.

The Continental Congress had been obliged to borrow money and emit bills of credit. The first issue of the latter was in 1775 and was of non-interest bearing notes, to the value of 2,000,000 Spanish milled dollars. This was the beginning, and the exigencies of the time demanded the same unwise course again and again. In 1776, the Government offered interest at six per cent on its notes, though *how* it could raise the interest it knew not. But it had become necessary to present some inducement to lenders. By 1780, the paper money of the Government had become nearly worthless. Some idea of its depreciation can be gathered from current prices. In order to purchase supplies with paper money, the shopper of that day had to pay for:

Cheese	$10.00	per pound
Butter	12.00	" "
Beef	8.00	" "
Mutton	9.00	" "
Coffee	12.00	" "
Tea	90.00	" "
Linen	20.00	" yard

In that year, Congress, by a new five-per-cent issue, attempted to redeem Continental notes, offering to pay one dollar of the new issue for forty dollars of the old. It was thus able to call in and destroy a large amount of worthless paper. The depreciation of the paper money was not the only defect in the currency, for the coinage was debased and of uncertain value. All the coin of the country was of foreign mintage, coming from England, France, Spain and Holland. There was no general standard, unless the Spanish dollar, which circulated

most generally, could be so considered. In 1782, this passed in Georgia for five shillings, in North Carolina and New York for eight shillings, in Virginia and the four eastern States for six shillings, in South Carolina for thirty-two shillings and sixpence, and in all the other States for seven shillings and sixpence. As this, which was supposed to be the standard, had such a variable value, the other foreign pieces were necessarily mutable. It was said: "The commonest transactions grew intricate when money entered into them."

But a more serious evil than this perplexing difference in value was counterfeiting and clipping, which were common offences. The latter finally brought the coins to such a mutilated state that they passed by weight, not by tale. Hardly a piece of money could be found that had not been robbed by the punch or the shears. Washington wrote: "Unless some stop can be put to the cutting and clipping of money... a man must travel with a pair of scales in his pocket or run the risk of receiving gold at one-fourth the less by weight than it counts." Congress made no attempt to redress these crying wrongs, until July, 1785, when it resolved to make one dollar of silver the unit of a decimal system of money. The next year an ordinance was passed, providing for an entire national currency. Of silver there was to be a dollar, half-dollar, double dime and half-dime. Of copper a cent and half-cent, and of gold a ten-dollar piece, stamped with an eagle — hence called an eagle — and a half-eagle or five-dollar piece. A bill was then passed to establish a mint. Several dies were made, and a few copper cents were struck off, and then the whole business passed into that state best described by President Cleveland's famous phrase, "innocuous desuetude." The idea of the decimal system of currency had originated with

Gouverneur Morris who was assistant to Robert Morris in the Treasury. They were of the same name, but not related, the former being a native of New York. He was at this time a young lawyer of eminence, who had become a member of the Continental Congress when but twenty-six years of age. He was a man of delightful social qualities, yet an untiring worker; was a wit and a scholar, yet a financier, and devoted to business. He seemed to have united in an unusual degree the traits of the man of society and the man of affairs. He was the founder of our National coinage, though his original plan was amended by Jefferson, and, as thus altered, was passed by Congress.

At the close of the Revolution the debt of the United States was $42,000,000. Nearly $8,000,000 was owed abroad, for large sums of money had been borrowed from France, Spain and Holland. The interest on the foreign loan was due; the claims of the soldiers were pressing, and the running expenses of the Government were to be provided for. To meet these demands was the hopeless task before Congress. By the compromise made with the army and the generous action of France the Government obtained temporary relief. The Court of France voluntarily released the United States from the payment on its obligations during the war and for the first period of peace, and the United States, on its part, by formal treaty, assumed the obligation to pay interest, as it should accrue from the beginning of the year 1784. Congress made requisitions upon the States, and they were pledged to respond, raising the money, as they saw fit, by taxation within their own borders. But the States had little respect for the authority of a body too weak to enforce its demands, and, beside, had to contend with the distress and demoralization caused by a fluctuating currency, the

depreciation of all securities and a general depression of trade and commerce. It was a time of transition; the old Government had passed, the new had not yet come to fulfillment; the political ideas of the people were unformed, crude and hazy. The citizen was loyal to his State, but for the general Government his regard was slight. In judging the States, it must be remembered that they felt a natural dread of any extraneous authority. They had become free, after a terrible struggle, from the authority of Great Britain. Should they grant power to another body to oppress them? forge their chains anew? At that time, nationality was the dream of statesmen, not a familiar thought of the people.

Morris hammered away at the States to pay, but with slight effect. In 1782, he wrote: "Near five months of the present year have elapsed without my having received anything on account of its expenditures, except the trifling sum of $5,500, and that sum, calculating our expenses at $8,000,000 annually, is about one-quarter of what is necessary to support us for a single day." There was a time, during this year, when the Treasury was literally empty. Congress replied to the demands of its creditors by a question: "How," it asked, "could payment to them be made unless the States contributed the necessary funds?" Robert Morris generously used his own large fortune for public needs, but in 1784, exhausted by his efforts to accomplish the impossible, he resigned, and a Board of Treasury, consisting of three members, was appointed in his place. It has been said: "No person was ever more scrupulous in executing his promises than Morris, or entertained loftier ideas concerning the sacredness of public obligations." He had adopted every honest device to keep the Ship of State afloat. A man less fertile in resource would have stranded long before. American

credit was exhausted, and money could be borrowed from abroad only with difficulty and at usurious rates. Matters went from bad to worse, and in 1787, Madison wrote to Randolph: "Our situation is becoming every day more critical. No money comes into the Federal Treasury; no respect is paid to the Federal authority; and people of reflection unanimously agree that the existing Confederacy is tottering to its foundations."

What was the condition of society, of the people at large, during these trying years? The most influential and powerful States were Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia. Speaking generally, the first three were commercial, the last agricultural. At the close of the war, the shipping interest of New England was ruined, and trade and commerce were stagnant in all the States; but with the return of peace, the merchants looked for a revival of business, and, with that expectation, they bought more goods of England in one year than the exports of the country would pay for in three. This influx of British goods drained the country of specie, and being, of necessity, sold at low prices, retarded the growth of home industries. England placed heavy duties on American goods and products, taxing whale oil, for example, $90 a tun. Nor was this all. The English Navigation Laws were most disastrous for American shippers, as under them, American goods could not enter the ports of Great Britain or the West Indies unless carried in British-built ships, owned and navigated by British subjects. This not only prevented all revival of the former prosperous trade with the West Indies, but dealt a severe blow to shipbuilding, which formerly had been a most successful industry of New England. Before the war, one-third the tonnage of British commerce had been of American construction. England understood

only too well the weakness of the Confederation and had no fear that the States would unite in retaliation; so she put John Adams off from month to month, when he endeavored to negotiate a Treaty of Commerce. She could restrict American shipping and tax American exports, while she entered her own goods duty free at every American port. The Englishman, naturally, was perfectly satisfied; it was the American merchant, with ruin staring him in the face, who cried out. And yet this harassed people would not agree to grant Congress the power necessary to redress their wrongs. When a plan of retaliation, by means of a national tariff, was finally laid before that body, the diverse interests of the States, north and south, were an important factor in securing its defeat. Richard Henry Lee presented the objections of the southern States, saying: "That the interests of the North were different from the interests of the South; that the regulations of trade that suited one would not suit the other; that eight States were interested in the carrying trade and would combine together to shackle and fetter the five southern States, which, without shipping of their own, raise the chief staples for exportation." He also insisted that a new grant of power to Congress would endanger public liberty, would be an entering wedge, by means of which further attempts would be made to enlarge the powers of the general Government. This was not the first attempt to place an impost. Congress had again and again petitioned the States for authority to impose a duty on liquor, sugar, tea, coffee, cocoa, molasses and pepper; but its appeal had only aroused bitter opposition, although it would have furnished a much-needed income to the bankrupt government. Indignant at the restrictive policy of England, several of the States retaliated. The first to lay before its Legislature a protective tariff bill was

Pennsylvania — to this day a staunch advocate of protection. This was on March 22, 1785, and was entitled: "A Bill to protect the Manufactures of Pennsylvania." A duty was laid on seventy articles, among them iron and steel, and an extra tonnage duty on ships of nations having no commercial treaty with Congress. It was passed in the following September. In July of the same year, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Rhode Island had placed protective duties and passed a Navigation Act, forbidding exports from their harbors in British ships and placing an extra tonnage duty on foreign vessels. Embarrassment and distress followed this condition of affairs, which was increased by the lack of harmony among the States. McMaster has clearly described the existing conditions: "Each State, left to itself, ordered its own trade in its own way; and the way of one State was always different from the way of another. The commerce which Massachusetts found it to her interest to encourage, Virginia found it to hers to restrict. New York would not protect the trade in indigo and pitch, North Carolina cared nothing for the success of the fur interest. New England derived great revenues from lumber, oil and potashes; Pennsylvania from corn and grain; and were in no wise concerned as to the prosperity of the trade of their neighbors. Articles which Connecticut and New Jersey excluded from their ports by heavy tonnage duties entered New York with scarcely any other charges than light money." For, alas! the States began selfishly to legislate against each other in a desperate effort to obtain trade. New York was the most serious offender. In 1787, her Legislature passed a law most injurious to the commerce of New Jersey and Connecticut. These States had a profitable trade with New York, supplying the city with fire-wood, vegetables, fowls, but-

ter and cheese. It was asserted that the Jerseymen and the Yankees drew too much money from the city, and to prevent this it was decreed that every boat of more than twelve tons' burden should henceforth be entered and cleared at the Custom House in the same manner as vessels from a foreign port. This dealt a severe blow to the boatmen and farmers, and the New Jersey Legislature took signal revenge. New York had bought four acres of land at Sandy Hook, in the State of New Jersey, and had erected thereon a lighthouse. The New Jersey Legislature now laid a tax of thirty pounds a month on this property. The wood-boats from Connecticut had to pay, in addition to customs' duties, a tax for the cartage of fire-wood across the city. In Connecticut a league was formed among the business men, whereby every man bound himself, under a penalty of fifty pounds, not to send any article into the State of New York, nor furnish any craft with a bill of lading for its ports, until one year from date. The State of New York was dominated by its Governor, George Clinton, who was nine times elected to that office and was the first great "boss" in State politics. Shrewd and crafty, pushing and masterful, aiming always to increase the power of his State, he is the most striking example of the successful politician that the America of his day affords.

Money had now become so scarce, the distress so great, that even men of good sense were seduced by specious theories that promised relief; one of these was the paper-money fallacy. One writer remarks: "There were, at that time, as there have been and still are, in every State, select companies of incorrigible fools who thought that a State could, by merely calling a bundle of rags a hundred thousand pounds, really add one hundred thousand pounds to the wealth of the community." The paper-

money delusion became popular and spread rapidly, though in a few States there was an opposition so bitter that they were saved from the impending evil. Notwithstanding the advice and entreaties of thoughtful men, who still remained calm and sane, Legislature after Legislature issued paper money, with the inevitable result that it soon depreciated, and the people were in a worse strait than before. Then an effort was made in several States to bolster up its falling values by legislative enactments. A useless expedient, for it is as impossible to stay the operation of natural law in the financial world as it is in the physical or the moral world. These measures were carried to the greatest extent in Rhode Island, where the Legislature passed a "Forcing Act." By this ordinance, any person who refused to take the bills at gold value, or should in any way discourage their circulation, was to be fined one hundred pounds and lose the right of suffrage. This act aroused a storm of indignation. The merchants closed their shops, and business was at a standstill. For the necessary trade, to supply daily needs, people returned to barter. The farmers retaliated by refusing to dispose of their goods to the storekeepers. The distress was extreme, and rioting occurred at several places. In these troubled days, there was one class of men who prospered — the lawyers. Throughout the country business was prostrate, farms mortgaged, specie scarce, securities and paper money nearly worthless, and the people sorely pressed by debts and taxes. All this made a rushing business for the courts; there was not time to try the numerous cases on the docket. While all others were idle, the lawyers were busy and as a class grew rich and influential. This aroused great bitterness of feeling against them and strong opposition to the courts. This ill-feeling at last found expression in Massa-

chusetts and Vermont, where armed mobs attempted to prevent the courts from sitting. Daniel Shays, an ex-captain of the army, placed himself at the head of some six hundred men, and the riot became civil war in Massachusetts. The rebels marched to Worcester, but the Court House was so well guarded by the militia that they were obliged to retire. Then followed a campaign of barn burning and general lawlessness that lasted several months. In midwinter, the Governor resorted to extreme measures; he enlisted over four thousand men and placed General Lincoln in command. The rebels retreated before this organized force, but the General was compelled to march his troops over many a weary mile, through ice and snow, before he succeeded in dispersing them. "Shays's Rebellion," as this uprising was called, shocked and startled the nation. The country was evidently on the verge of anarchy — something must be done and that speedily. The time had come to listen to the words of her patriots and statesmen. An alarmed people *at last* recognized the fact that their only safety lay in revising their Government.

The opportunity to do this came from the efforts to improve the conditions of interstate trade, for the Constitutional Convention was the outcome of what is known as the Annapolis Convention, which latter was brought about in the following manner: in March, 1785, a joint Commission from the States of Maryland and Virginia had met at Mount Vernon to consider matters relating to the navigation of Chesapeake Bay and the rivers common to both States. Washington suggested that Pennsylvania and Delaware be asked to join them in a further discussion regarding a proposed canal between the Chesapeake and the Delaware. This idea was taken up and enlarged upon by Madison who proposed a motion

for presentation to the Legislature of Virginia, to the effect that Commissioners should be appointed by *each* of the thirteen States, to meet and discuss a uniform treatment of commercial questions. This was passed January 21, 1786, and a meeting was called for the first Monday in September, at Annapolis. To this invitation only five States responded, but the result of this failure was to be a larger success. Before adjourning, they adopted an address written by Alexander Hamilton and sent it to all the States. In it the States were urged to send delegates to a Convention at Philadelphia, on the second Monday of the following May, 1787, to agree upon a plan "to render the Constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union, and to report the same to Congress." The failure of Congress to place an impost, owing to the selfish action of New York under Governor Clinton, and the alarm over Shays's rebellion, induced it to make a final effort for its own safety. A motion was offered by Rufus King of Massachusetts that Congress should of itself propose a Convention identical with the one which the Annapolis Commissioners had already recommended. It was passed, and in this way the Constitutional Convention obtained the authority of Congressional approval.

Realizing the importance of the work to be done, the States sent their most distinguished men to Philadelphia. All, except Rhode Island, who declined to take part, and New York, who sent the brilliant Hamilton, but, not wishing the Convention success, hampered him by two colleagues, Yates and Lansing; both inferior men who, after some weeks, abandoned their posts and returned home. Of the fifty-five delegates, Washington, Hamilton, Franklin and Madison were the men of most distinguished ability. Madison is called the "Father of the

Constitution," for, a great student of all forms of Republican and Federal Governments, he more than any one man shaped the Constitution of the United States. Among the other distinguished men present were Robert and Gouverneur Morris, John Dickinson, John Rutledge, the two Pinckneys, Caleb Strong, Rufus King, Daniel Carroll, Oliver Ellsworth, John Langdon, Roger Sherman, William Livingston, Elbridge Gerry and Edmund Randolph.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE FIRST ELECTION

The second Monday in May, 1787, was appointed for the meeting of the Constitutional Convention. The delegates gathered slowly; but on May 25, there was a quorum, and the Convention proceeded to business by electing George Washington Chairman. Every member was pledged to secrecy, which was a wise precaution, owing to the excited state of public feeling. The session lasted for four months. There exists but one detailed account of what occurred behind those locked doors, for, happily for posterity, Madison kept, in shorthand, a journal of the proceedings, which was published fifty years afterward; and from its pages is learned almost all that is known of the framing of the Constitution. The call had been issued for the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation; it was now resolved: "That a National Government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme legislative, executive and judiciary." Thus was swept away the Confederation. The new Government was a revolution. Of this Mr. Gladstone said: "The American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off, at a given time, by the brain and purpose of man."

The plan of a Federal Government was presented to the Convention on May 29th by Edmund Randolph. This

was called the Virginia plan and was, to a great extent, the work of James Madison, but Randolph was selected to present it, as he was Chairman of the Delegation, Governor of Virginia and a man of acknowledged ability, although not yet thirty-four years of age. Subsequently, both Hamilton and the New Jersey Delegation submitted plans, but neither was acceptable. The Virginia plan, changed and amended, became the present Constitution. But this was only accomplished by three compromises, necessitated by the claims of State rights, slavery and the divergent interests of the commercial and agricultural States, North and South.

The first struggle in the Convention was between those favoring a strong central Government and those desiring the sovereignty of the States. "What," it was asked, "is the meaning of the word 'supreme' — a supreme legislative, executive and judiciary?" It was explained that "supreme" meant the sovereign power of the Government; if the powers granted to the new Government clashed with the powers of a State, the State must yield. An excited discussion followed, and after many arguments the strong government party won by a small majority.

The Virginia plan provided for a Congress, to consist of two Houses; the Lower to be elected by the people, the Upper, or Senate, chosen by the House from nominations made by the State Legislatures. It was recognized as in keeping with sound democratic principles that there should be a legislative body elected directly by the people — an American House of Commons. But what was to be the basis of representation? Population was thought preferable to wealth, and at once the smaller States became alarmed. They would be overwhelmed by the larger States. For one month the heated, often bitter, discussion

continued. Finally, when an agreement seemed all but hopeless, Oliver Ellsworth and Roger Sherman of Connecticut presented a plan known as the "Connecticut Compromise," by which the Lower House, the House of Representatives, was to be elected directly by the people, and the Senate to consist of two members from each State, to be elected by the Legislatures of their respective States. The States were thus equally represented in one branch of the Government. This promised a solution of the difficulty and, after further excited debate, was adopted by a majority of one vote. Afterward, it was decided that senators were to serve for six years and representatives for two years and that each State should be entitled to one representative for every 30,000 inhabitants. The first census was to be taken in 1790 and thereafter every ten years, and the representation adjusted accordingly. It is at present (1900) one to every 173,901 of population.[1]

The second compromise arose from the question: Shall slaves be counted as population? The North claimed that slaves were chattels, not persons, but the South contended that they were population, and the contest raged fiercely. There were many anti-slavery men in the Convention who were outspoken in their opposition. Gouverneur Morris said: "I can never agree to give such encouragement to the slave trade, as would be given by allowing the southern States a representation for their negroes... I would sooner submit myself to a tax for paying for all the negroes in the United States than saddle posterity with such a Constitution." The debate waxed passionate and bitter; South Carolina threatened to leave the Convention, and had she done so Georgia

[1] At the present date the House of Representatives numbers 357 members, the Senate 90.

and probably North Carolina would have followed; in which case, not enough States would have ratified the Constitution for it to become the law of the land. As it was absolutely necessary to satisfy the southern members, Madison proposed that, as a basis for representation, five slaves should be reckoned as three individuals. Thus, the first great struggle between pro-slavery and anti-slavery interests began in the Constitutional Convention, and Mr. Fiske asserts: "From this moment down to 1865, we shall continually be made to realize how the American people had entered into the shadow of the Civil War before they had fairly emerged from that of the Revolution." Madison's motion prevailed and effected the second compromise.

The third also had to do with slavery, for it forbade the Government to interfere with the foreign slave trade for twenty years to come, and was the result of a bargain between the States of the extreme North and the extreme South. Three motions had been offered; these were, first, that no export duties should ever be placed by Congress; this was desired by the southern members, to protect their rice and indigo, and it was passed; second, Congress should not pass a Navigation Act, except by a two-thirds vote of *both* Houses, for the South feared that the shipping interest of the northern States might, under the protection of such a law, charge excessive rates for carrying southern staples to Europe; third, the importation of slaves should not be interfered with; this was owing to the ghastly fact that the deadly rice swamps of South Carolina rendered necessary a constant supply of negroes. New England realized after her recent bitter experience that Congress must have full power to regulate commerce, and so the third compromise was made. New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut con-

sented that the foreign slave trade should continue without molestation until 1808, and, in return, South Carolina and Georgia consented to empower Congress to pass navigation laws, and regulate commerce by a simple majority vote. This decision was not arrived at without bitter and passionate objections and the repeated threat of South Carolina to withdraw. At this time, all the States, except the two southernmost, desired to stop the importation of negroes, for slavery was dead or dying out in all the northern States, and was not strongly entrenched in Virginia. Washington and Madison anticipated that, by the end of twenty years, slavery would have almost disappeared. Cotton was not then king, for the cotton-gin was a later invention, and the great cotton mills of New England were not even dreamed of. It was impossible to foresee the results of the latent mechanical genius of the people; but, in any case, they could not well have decided otherwise; the question before them was, A Government recognizing slavery or — anarchy? If the Convention had not compromised, the Constitution could not have been adopted.

But George Mason, of Virginia, who, in burning words, objected to fastening upon the country for twenty years to come what he termed an "infernal traffic," prophesied the result: "They bring," he warned them, "the judgment of Heaven on a country. As nations cannot be rewarded or punished in the next world, they must be in this. By an inevitable chain of causes and effects, Providence punishes national sins by national calamities."

The threatening issues being now decided, the remainder of the Constitution was debated with less friction. The plan of an Electoral College was the result, in part, of an aristocratic feeling among many of the delegates, who felt unwilling to trust the people with

full power to elect a President, and, in part, to the fear that cabals and intrigues would result from granting power to the House of Representatives, or the Senate, to fill so important an office. The establishment of the Supreme Court, it has been said, "was the most remarkable and original of all the creations of that wonderful Convention. It was charged with the duty of interpreting, in accordance with the general principles of common law, the Federal Constitution itself. This is the... most distinctive feature in the Government of the United States... In Great Britain, the unwritten Constitution is administered by the omnipotent House of Commons; whatever Statute is enacted by Parliament, must stand until some future Parliament may see fit to repeal it. But an act passed by both Houses of Congress, and signed by the President, may still be set aside as unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States in its judgments upon individual cases brought before it. This entrusting to the judiciary the sole interpretation of the fundamental instrument of government is the most peculiarly American work done by the Convention."

The Convention, having finished its arduous labors, met for the last time on Monday, September 17, 1787. Franklin, Hamilton and others pleaded for unanimity, stating that they were not entirely satisfied, but considered the Constitution before them the best that could be obtained, and asserting that the question they must now answer was: "Shall there be a National Government, or general anarchy?" In spite of these appeals, George Mason, Elbridge Gerry, and Edmund Randolph refused to sign. The remaining delegates affixed their names, representing each of the twelve States which had taken part. Washington was the first to sign, and, as

the last members were placing their names, it is related that Franklin looked toward the President's chair, on the back of which was painted a half sun, pointed to it and remarked: "As I have been sitting here all these weeks, I have often wondered whether yonder sun is a rising or a setting sun. But now I know that it is a rising sun." Thus ended the stupendous task of creating a National Government.

The new Constitution, which during four months had been a source of conjecture and wild rumor, was placed before Congress, then in session at New York, on September 20th, three days after it had been signed in the Convention at Philadelphia. It now became the property of the people, and was immediately a subject of excited controversy. It was said, that it granted excessive powers to Congress and to the Federal Judiciary; that Representatives, by being paid from the Federal Treasury, were made independent of their own States; and, above all, that it did not include a Bill of Rights. That is, a series of articles defining the individual rights of citizens.

In the autumn of 1787 arose the first great political parties in the United States, to divide on national issues. They were the Federalists, who supported the Constitution, and the Anti-Federalists, who opposed it. There was great excitement throughout the country, and party feeling ran high. The opposition had begun at once in Congress, where the New York delegation opposed the Constitution most determinedly; but fortunately, Madison had returned to his seat as a representative from Virginia, and he led the good fight with such success that after eight days Congress accepted the new Government and submitted it to the States for ratification. The Constitution, by its final article, declared itself in force

when ratified by the Conventions of nine States. During December (1787), three States ratified, Delaware, to whom belongs the honor of first coming under the "New Roof," as the Constitution was called in the slang of the day, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. In January following, Georgia and Connecticut ratified; in February, Massachusetts; in April, Maryland; in May, South Carolina; in June, New Hampshire and Virginia; and in July, New York. In November, 1789, North Carolina joined, but Rhode Island did not enter the Union until May, 1790. The last two States were not in the Union when Washington was inaugurated. Several States accompanied their acceptance of the Constitution by a Bill of Rights, and the first Congress (1789) in accordance with this strongly expressed desire, submitted twelve amendments to the States. The Constitution provided by Article V that whenever by two-thirds of both Houses of Congress, or on application from the legislatures of two-thirds of the States, it should be deemed necessary to amend the Constitution, it could be done by Congress presenting to the States amendments, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the States, should become a part of the original instrument. This decree being complied with, on December 15, 1791, the first ten amendments became the law of the land, the other two not being ratified by the required number of States. An eleventh amendment was added in 1798, and the twelfth in 1803. The wisdom of the framers of the Constitution is evinced by the fact that it was not necessary to further amend that instrument for sixty years, and then the changes effected by the Civil War and the Emancipation Proclamation rendered necessary three more amendments, the thirteenth which became the law in 1865; the fourteenth in 1868; and the fifteenth in 1870. This last grants

full right of citizenship to the negro. Thus in the same document there is a provision for a fugitive slave law and permission given the once manacled hands to cast a ballot — such being the resistless march of events.

That Pennsylvania ratified the Constitution so promptly was owing to the vigorous measures of the Federalists. On the day after the Convention adjourned, not waiting for the action of Congress, the Pennsylvania delegation, headed by Benjamin Franklin, presented the Constitution to the State Legislature. This was a surprise to the Anti-Federalists present, and fearing that they were not strong enough to prevent the calling of a Convention to ratify, they decided to absent themselves and thus prevent a quorum. When summoned by the sergeant-at-arms, they refused to obey the order for their return, and the Assembly was obliged to adjourn. But the next morning a body of respectable citizens broke into the lodgings of two recreant delegates, dragged them through the streets, in the midst of an excited crowd, and, on reaching the Assembly Chamber, held them down in their seats. As their presence made the necessary quorum, the Convention was voted for at once.

This occasion was the last public appearance of Benjamin Franklin, although he lived for two years after this event, but always ill, and bearing with patience his great sufferings. His last public act was to sign, as President of the Anti-slavery Society, an appeal to Congress that: "You will step to the very verge of the power vested in you for discouraging every species of traffic in the persons of our fellow-men."

The Constitution was only adopted in Massachusetts after excited controversy. Its acceptance was owing in great part to an immense mass-meeting of workingmen held in Boston, at which resolutions were passed,

favoring ratification. These being sent to Samuel Adams, who was always a friend of the common people, caused him to change his vote and exert his influence on the Federal side. Another important factor was a letter from Washington. In it he said: "The Constitution or disunion are before us to choose from. If the Constitution is our choice, a Constitutional door is open for amendments, and they may be adopted in a peaceable manner without tumult or disorder." The wisdom of this advice was recognized, and, by a majority of nineteen votes, Massachusetts came under the shelter of the "New Roof."

The principal opposition to the Constitution in Virginia and North Carolina was owing to an issue that had arisen in the West and had aroused such bitterness of feeling that the southern States had contemplated withdrawing from the Confederation and setting up a separate Government. At this time, Kentucky formed part of Virginia, and Tennessee of North Carolina. In these western regions, many settlements had sprung up, and the adventurous settlers desiring an outlet for their products, turned naturally to the Mississippi, which formed the western boundary. Why carry their merchandise for long distances through the forests and over the Alleghanies, when they could so easily float down the Mississippi to the sea? An article of the Treaty of Peace guaranteed the free navigation of the river to the United States, but Spain was in actual possession of its mouth, with Natchez and New Orleans as points of defense, and she declared her absolute control of its entire length. This was serious, and to complicate matters still further, John Jay, who had been commissioned by Congress to negotiate a treaty of commerce with Spain, reported that Spain was willing to sign such a treaty, on condition

that the United States would forego the navigation of the Mississippi for twenty-five years. The commercial North, anxious for the advantages of the treaty, and caring nothing for the far-distant West, was favorably inclined to this demand, but the opposition of the South was determined; they felt that their States were unjustly dealt with, and declared that they were being sold to Spain to satisfy the greed of the North. After long discussion the treaty was laid aside. When the Constitution was presented to the Virginia Convention, Patrick Henry opposed it, one of his strongest arguments being, that the southern States would be unable to prevent so powerful a Congress as the new Government established from closing the Mississippi river to their western commerce. But Madison controverted every argument and ably led the Federalists to victory. He was aided by the eloquence of Randolph, whom he had won to his side, and by a young man, John Marshall, afterward Chief-Justice, who was then the foremost lawyer in the State and destined to become one of the greatest jurists in the world. Virginia was the tenth State to ratify; the Constitution having become the law when New Hampshire joined five days previously. But New York still remained out, and if the new Government were to be organized without her, it would be most disastrous, for not only was she a wealthy and powerful State, but, owing to her geographical position, she would divide the new Union into two distinct parts. The opposition in New York was controlled by that able politician, George Clinton, of whom it was said: "He hated the Constitution more bitterly than any man in the thirteen States." The contest raged day after day in the Convention, with intense bitterness. Hamilton led the Federalists, and feeling that he had a campaign of educa-

tion before him, began a series of essays, which were printed mainly in the *Independent Journal.* He invited Madison and Jay to join with him, and eighty-five papers were issued all signed "Publius." Of these Hamilton wrote fifty-one, Madison twenty-nine, and Jay five. The first number appeared in October, 1787, and they continued during the winter and spring, sometimes as many as three or four a week. These collected papers form the *Federalist,* of which it is said: "It is perhaps the most famous American book, and undoubtedly the most profound and suggestive treatise on government that has ever been written." Its influence was immense, and, added to the eloquence of Hamilton, as week after week, with matchless charm and wonderful power, he debated every point, at last won the day by a majority of three votes. A great work well done, a tremendous victory to be won by a man barely thirty.

As State after State joined the Union, there was great rejoicing throughout the land. The Anti-Federalists might make bonfires of the Constitution, burn Hamilton, Jay and Madison in effigy, talk of the "gilded trap" in which the Federalists had been caught; their dissatisfaction was lost in the popular approval. In the large cities the new Government was greeted with bell-ringing and the firing of cannon, and great trade processions, where the good ship "Constitution" had a place of prominence, and the "New Roof" was supported by eleven completed columns and two as yet unfinished. In September Congress decreed that New York should remain for the present the capital; that the Presidential electors should be chosen on the first Wednesday in January, 1789; that the electors should meet and cast their votes for President and Vice-President on the first Wednesday in February, and that the Senate and House

should assemble on the first Wednesday in March. In 1789, this day fell on the fourth of the month, and thereafter the custom was established of beginning each new administration on March 4th. New York did not appoint electors — another triumph for Clinton — so that only ten States voted for the first President. Congress was dilatory in assembling, and not until the sixth did the two houses meet together to count the electoral votes. There were sixty-nine ballots, all of them for Washington as President, and thirty-four of them for John Adams as Vice-President. Washington was duly informed of the honor conferred upon him by a grateful nation. On April 16th he wrote in his diary: "About ten o'clock I bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life and to domestic felicity; and with a mind oppressed with more anxious and painful sensations than I have words to express, set out for New York, with the best disposition to render service to my country, in obedience to its call, but with less hope of answering its expectations."

The statue on the steps of the United States Treasury in the City of New York marks the spot where, on April 30, 1789, on a balcony of what was then Federal Hall, this great hero stood, while Chancellor Livingston administered the oath of office. As Washington bent reverently to the Sacred Book, a mighty shout arose from the assembled throng, "Long live George Washington, President of the United States." At last the Ship of State was safely launched!

Washington retired from the balcony to the Senate Chamber and read the first inaugural address. In it he stated that he should refuse, as he had during the Revolution, all pecuniary compensation for his services, only accepting repayment, as on the previous occasion,

for money actually expended in the discharge of his duties. At the conclusion of the address, the President and a large company attended a religious service at St. Paul's Church.

When Washington, on May 1, 1789, entered upon his duties, the United States Government consisted of a President and Vice-President, and the two Houses of Congress. The first requirement was to construct governmental machinery, and set it in motion as speedily as possible, and the men of ability and experience who formed the first Congress were well fitted for the task before them. Upon the House of Representatives devolved the Constitutional right of originating revenue bills, and as the Treasury was empty this was the first subject considered. Customs and excise were the most evident sources of revenue, and a tariff bill was soon brought before the House. It has been said that: "The first House debates on a federal tariff served to bring out fairly most of the arguments that have ever done service since. For the real difficulty in securing a good revenue act has always lain less in determining broad principles than in applying those principles to existing conditions of trade, so as to favor the whole nation against the rest of the world, and not yield too much to local interests." In this act tariff was the main issue, but, as passed, it had mild protective features, which had been gained after excited controversies among members who represented constituencies of different industrial interests. Congress provided for lighthouses, regulated foreign and coasting trade, and established custom-houses with the proper officials. Three departments of government were organized, the Department of State, the Treasury, and that of War, each with a secretary in charge.

In the Senate a bill was framed for the organization of the Federal Judiciary. It provided the United States Supreme Court with a Chief-Justice and five associates; established the lower courts, marshals and district attorneys, much as they exist today. It also created the office of Attorney-General. There was much discussion as to the proper form of address when communicating with the President. The Senate proposed the title "His Highness, the President of the United States and Protector of their Liberties," but the House insisted on that used in the Constitution, "President of the United States of America," and, fortunately, this simple and dignified form was adopted. Such, in brief, was the work of the first session of Congress which laid firmly the foundations of good government.

Washington, on assuming office, found no precedents by which to guide his conduct in public life. He fully recognized the greatness of his official position, but he also desired to maintain a freedom from ostentation compatible with republican simplicity. After deliberation, and consultation with Jay, Hamilton and Madison, it was announced that the President would not return calls nor accept invitations to dine; that he would receive only general visitors, on specified days, and official visitors at stated hours, and that only persons of official rank and strangers of distinction would be invited to dine with him. Formal receptions were held from three until four o'clock on a certain day of each week, by both Washington and Lady Washington, as she was universally called, and a large public dinner was given weekly. But notwithstanding these seemingly simple and sensible arrangements, the social side of the administration did not escape criticism from the rabid republicanism of the day; and, in truth, there was a formality and stateliness inseparable

from Washington himself that has made the "Republican Court" a fitting designation for his administration and for no other since. Feeling that the people should be kept in touch with the general government, Washington, during his tenure of office, made several journeys through the States both east and south, awakening everywhere extreme enthusiasm. The journey to Massachusetts had one memorable incident. John Hancock was Governor of the State; of him Henry Cabot Lodge remarks: "He was a man of...large wealth and ready patriotism, with a great sense of his own importance... Every external thing about him, from his handsome house and his Copley portrait to his imposing gout and his immortal signature, was showy and effective." As he represented the sovereignty of the State, he felt that when on the soil of Massachusetts deference should be shown to him. He did not meet the President on his arrival, nor call, and consequently Washington did not dine with the Governor, as had been arranged. Hancock, however, was not quite equal to slighting George Washington, even to maintain the dignity of his position. So he humbled his pride and wrote an apology, pleading illness as an excuse for his neglect, and announcing that he would call in half-an-hour, though at the hazard of his health. Washington answered at once, expressing his pleasure at the prospect of seeing his Excellency, but begging him not to do anything to endanger his health. "So he appeared, swathed in flannel, and was borne upstairs on men's shoulders and into the presence of Washington." Thus was settled forever the question of precedence between the Federal and the State officials.

The duty of filling the chief offices created by Congress now devolved upon the President, who believed three qualifications essential in the men whom he should

select — integrity, capacity and conspicuousness. "I want," he said, "men already of marked eminence before the country, not only as the more likely to be serviceable, but because the country will more readily trust them." Public office was not the reward of party service in Washington's day, although the office-seeker had already sprung into life. John Jay, of New York, was appointed Chief-Justice; General Knox was continued in charge of the War Department; Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, was made Secretary of State; and Edmund Randolph, also of Virginia, Attorney-General. The office of Secretary of the Treasury was given to the man preëminently fitted for it — Alexander Hamilton. Of two of these appointments, Jay and Hamilton, it is interesting to know more.

John Jay was born in the City of New York, December 12, 1745. His father, Peter Jay, was a wealthy and honorable merchant of French Huguenot descent, who was loyal to the cause of the colonies. His son, when a little past fourteen, entered King's College, then small and struggling, now the rich and important Columbia University. After graduating, he studied law, and soon gained eminence at the bar. When twenty-nine, he married the beautiful daughter of William Livingston. Some months later, in September, 1774, Jay was sent as a delegate to the first Continental Congress. He was a devoted patriot and took an active part not only in national affairs, but in those of his own State; drafting a long succession of state papers and addresses to combat the Tory influences of that critical period. He presented to the Provincial Congress of New York the Declaration of Independence, with this resolution: "That the reasons assigned by the Continental Congress for declaring the United Colonies free and independent States are cogent

and conclusive; and that while we lament the cruel necessity which has rendered that measure unavoidable, we approve the same, and will, at the risk of our lives and fortunes, join with the other colonies in supporting it." Brave words, for at that very moment British ships-of-war were at Tarrytown, within six miles of White Plains, where the Assembly was sitting. Jay was President of the Continental Congress for two years, and in 1779 was made Minister to Spain, where he served his country faithfully, under most embarrassing and disagreeable circumstances. He was one of the three commissioners to treat with England, and with Franklin and Adams signed the treaty of peace at Paris. On his return to New York (1784) he received from the city fathers an address of welcome and the freedom of the city in a gold box, while Congress appointed him Secretary of Foreign Affairs. In a short time, he made that office the most important under the Confederation. John Jay was an independent, broad-minded man, of strict integrity and of unblemished character. "He might," it has been said, "for a time be uncertain as to what was his duty, but the moment it was clear to him, he acted accordingly, promptly, fearlessly, without regard to personal considerations... It was this singleness and uprightness of purpose and the firmness with which he adhered to it that made John Adams call him 'a Roman'... When he had done what he conceived to be his duty, he was satisfied that all was for the best and was undisturbed by popular applause or condemnation." He was soon to have this serenity of mind subjected to a severe test.

Alexander Hamilton, who is one of the most remarkable men in American history, was born in 1757, on the Island of Nevis, in the West Indies. His father, a Scotch merchant, was unsuccessful in business, and his mother

dying early, Alexander fell to the care of relatives, and received a rather haphazard education, until at the age of twelve he was placed in a counting-house. He was extraordinarily precocious. At the age of thirteen, his employer left him in charge of his affairs, and his sensible business letters, written at that time, are still extant. His literary ability attracting attention, his relatives decided to send him into a wider field. They provided funds, and in his fifteenth year Hamilton sailed for the United States. On arriving he decided to improve his defective education, entered a grammar school and in one year was prepared for King's College, where his wonderful talents soon attracted attention. New York was Tory in sentiment, and the young West Indian hesitated as to which cause he should espouse; but a visit to Boston, that hotbed of resistance, determined him, and he soon had an opportunity to declare himself. A great meeting for the purpose of arousing public opinion was held by the patriots of New York in what is now City Hall Park, on July 6, 1774. This was afterwards known as the "Great Meeting in the Fields." Hamilton, who was present, convinced that the speakers had omitted many important points, made his way to the platform and faced the great gathering, which stared in amazement at this lad of seventeen, who had the assurance to address them. But soon all else was forgotten in admiration and enthusiasm for the eloquent boy, who spoke with such clear logic and sound sense. From that moment he took an active part in the exciting events of that troubled time. Early in 1776 he was placed in command of a New York Artillery Company, and took part in the battles of Long Island, Trenton and Princeton. His fame as a dashing and gallant officer, added to his literary reputation, led Washington to ap-

point him one of his aids with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, when he was but just twenty years old. He thus became Military Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, a position which he held for four years, when, indignant at a reproof from Washington, he resigned and reëntered the army; fortunately, the estrangement between the two great men was not lasting. When twenty-three years old, Hamilton married Elizabeth Schuyler, the charming daughter of General Philip Schuyler, and the alliance with this wealthy and important family bound him firmly to New York. At the close of the war, after a few months' study of law, he was admitted to the bar. In 1782 he was sent to Congress, and the financial condition of the country became his profound study. Hamilton had undoubtedly the most brilliant mind of his day; he was upright, brave and sagacious, and his charming personality won for him a host of devoted friends.

At thirty-two he became Washington's Secretary of the Treasury and initiated a financial policy which established on a firm foundation the national government.

Among the important measures of Congress Hamilton's Reports are by far the most noteworthy. His first paper was a masterly exposition of the financial condition of the country and the heroic measures necessary to afford relief. He proposed to fund the public debt, both domestic and foreign, and to have the general Government assume all the State debts incurred during the war. These proposals created heated debate, not only in Congress, but throughout the country. There was no difference of opinion about paying the foreign debt in full, but the domestic debt was thought another matter. It was claimed that Government paper had been bought for a trifle from the original holders, so that speculators would now be the ones benefited and not honest creditors. As for assump-

tion — that plan would be unjust to those States which had already paid a part of their indebtedness by taxation or the sale of their western lands. The Federalists answered that the Government had not been able to prevent the decline in values, but that the United States Government owed a debt and should pay its obligations in full, no matter who held its notes; and as ready money could not be obtained the debt must be funded. As for assumption, the States had contracted these debts in defense of the whole Union and they should be relieved of their heavy burden by the nation they had helped. Bills favoring funding and assumption were at once introduced, and excitedly debated for seven months. A debt of eighty million dollars was a vast sum for a young nation to carry and it would be necessary to fund this amount in order to execute Hamilton's plan. The bills finally passed, in August, 1790, the Government pledging the payment of six per cent. interest on the new certificates. Assumption had been the cause of intense bitterness between the States, North and South, and that it was finally accepted was owing to a bargain; certain northern delegates voted for the establishment of the permanent national Capital on the bank of the Potomac; and, in return, southern votes were cast for assumption.

In 1790, Congress accepted the cession of Tennessee by North Carolina, with the condition that "no regulation made or to be made by Congress shall tend to emancipate slaves." In 1791, Vermont and Kentucky were admitted, one with a free and the other with a slave Constitution. Thus was begun the fatal policy of striving to maintain an equilibrium between freedom and slavery.

Assumption had made necessary an increase of revenue and Hamilton reported the necessity of an excise. A bill was promptly passed in 1791, placing a tax on do-

mestic distilled spirits and increasing the tariff on foreign. "It would be," remarked a member, "like drinking down the national debt." It proved a most unpalatable draught, for there was strong opposition to the tax. Throughout the country there were thousands of small stills; in Pennsylvania alone there were some three thousand. The farmer who found it difficult to convey his grain to the distant market, turned it into spirits, and obtained an article of more value and one easier to transport. As the Constitution declares that taxes must be uniform throughout the country, these distant farmers were obliged to pay the same as the distillers along tidewater or navigable rivers. All this aroused great bitterness of feeling and the tax-gatherers were insulted and resisted. In 1794, the first year of Washington's second term, this ill-feeling broke into rebellion in Western Pennsylvania. Fifteen thousand militia were called out and the "Whiskey Insurrection" was soon quelled, but one good resulted — the people learned that they had a strong Government that could not be trifled with.

The day after the excise report, Hamilton sent to Congress an elaborate plan for the chartering of a national bank. The opponents of his financial policy fought the scheme at once. They declared that the Government had no power, under the Constitution, to establish a bank. Hamilton's answer was of vital importance, and has had immeasurable consequences. In a masterly argument he advanced the doctrine of the "implied powers" of Congress, granted by the Constitution. He based his claim, which Chief-Justice Marshall afterwards confirmed, upon the concluding clause of Section VIII. in the first Article of the Constitution. This section recounts the powers of Congress and the final clause reads: "To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into

execution the foregoing powers; and other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof." This is sometimes called the "elastic clause," for it can be stretched to confer power to almost any extent upon the Federal Government. Undoubtedly, this liberal interpretation of the authority of the general Government has greatly assisted in building up a powerful nation. Hamilton declared the bank a necessary part of the Government's financial policy, and after long debate, the bill finally passed. The national Capital had been removed from New York to Philadelphia, and the bank was established in the latter city. It was styled The Bank of the United States. Its capital was $10,000,000, in shares of $400. The United States was permitted to subscribe for $2,000,000 of this amount, leaving the remaining $8,000,000 to be taken by the public. Congress pledged itself to incorporate no other bank for twenty years, the term for which the new bank was chartered. Twenty-five directors, all citizens of the United States, were to be chosen, discount rates were not to exceed six per cent., and loans to foreign powers were prohibited. So eager was the public to obtain the stock that the twenty thousand shares were taken in one day, and people clamored for more. A wild speculation in the bank stock followed, with the inevitable consequences of a fall in inflated values, followed by the same distress and discontent that result from a Wall Street panic of today.

Hamilton also sent to Congress an exhaustive report upon American manufactures, in which he advocated a plan for the protection of infant industries. A slight change in tariff was the only result, but it was the entering wedge for the protective policy of the future.

The Secretary also succeeded in establishing a mint

(1792). There was a heated controversy over the proposal to stamp upon one side of the coins a head of the President of the United States, for the time being; rabid Republicans fought as though only this was necessary to establish a monarchy and it was finally decided to substitute an emblematical figure of liberty.

The value of Hamilton's reports has been thus summed up: "From these reports came the funding system, the revenue system, the sinking fund, national banking and the first enunciation of the protective policy. They carried with them the great doctrine of the *implied powers* of the Constitution... So far as public policy could do it they laid the foundation of the material prosperity of the United States."

During Washington's first term, there was constant trouble with the Indians. It was determined to win the good-will of the Creeks, a southern tribe, and they were invited to send a delegation to the Capital, then at New York. Twenty-five came, led by their Chief, Andrew McGillivray, whose father had been a Scotch trader. The following is an amusing account of their reception: "The Tammany Society, or Columbian Order, a charitable order recently formed,...received the Indian braves at the Wall Street landing and escorted them to their lodgings at the City Tavern, with much ostentation, Congress saluting the party from the balcony of Federal Hall, and the President, the Secretary of War and the Governor of New York afterwards extending in turn an impressive welcome. McGillivray was dressed in a suit of plain scarlet, the other warriors appeared in their national habit, and as the procession moved up Wall Street, the Chiefs sang their peculiar song. Tammany names and manners imitated those of the Indian country; and while McGillivray was abundantly flattered on his mother's be-

half, during his stay, the Scotch side of his character was gently assailed by the St. Andrew's Society." The result of these delicate attentions was a treaty of peace and good-will, the first that the new nation had made with an Indian tribe. Congress had previously passed an act forbidding all trade with Indian tribes without a license from the President, and prohibiting the purchase of Indian lands, except under the authority of the Government. This was the beginning of the Indian policy of the United States. The tribes of the northwest, instigated by the English, who still held the frontier forts, gave serious trouble. Many small settlements had sprung up along the Ohio and its tributaries, and these were constantly attacked. An expedition was sent out under General Harmer, but his troops were drawn into an ambush and defeated. This short and disastrous campaign was followed two years later by a larger and better equipped expedition under General St. Clair, the Governor of the Northwest Territory. Washington warned him, at parting, to beware of a surprise, but, notwithstanding, St. Clair was taken unawares in his camp and his army cut to pieces. This terrible disaster shocked the nation and the President without delay organized a fresh force and appointed General Wayne — the Mad Anthony Wayne of the Revolution — its commander. He was completely successful, destroyed many Indian villages, and so broke the power of the tribes that they sued for peace and signed a treaty by which they surrendered large tracts of territory to the Government.

By the close of Washington's first term, a change had taken place in the political parties of the day. Hamilton had become the leader of the Federalists — the party in power; Jefferson of the new party — the Republican, in which were included those who had formerly been Anti-

Federalists. Several causes led to the rise of the Republican party. There were many Americans who saw in every act that tended to strengthen the Federal Government a menace to free institutions. Hamilton's doctrine of the "implied powers" and his evident desire to make the Government strong and great was distasteful to them and particularly so to the state rights sentiment of the South. His plans for protection, the bank and his entire financial policy filled them with rage. They declared that it tended to establish a class of speculators, wealthy manufacturers and merchants, at the expense of the farmers and the common people. To those who saw a crown above the proposed impress of a President's head on a coin and danger to free institutions in the gowns worn by the judges of the United States Supreme Court, a moneyed class meant a future aristocracy and its attendant evils. Jefferson was the idol of the people who held these views, for he was the most democratic of democrats. While Hamilton, who was an aristocrat in feeling, though a most loyal and patriotic man, naturally became the leader of the conservative element, of the mercantile class and of those who favored a strong central Government. He was a bold and imperious leader, but Jefferson was the better organizer and therefore able, in time, to build up a stronger party.

The Revenue Bill, the Assumption Act and the funding system had established public credit, and were bringing to the country remarkable prosperity. The nation had started upon that wonderful course which, within one hundred years, was to make the United States one of the richest and most powerful nations of the earth. Mills and factories were springing up, immigration rapidly increasing the population; and everywhere the fertile soil responded bountifully to the efforts of the husband-

man. But there was much truth in the complaints against speculators. A mania for speculation had seized the people. Western land schemes and companies of all kinds were promoted, while speculation in bank stock and Government paper was a passing madness dubbed "Scripophobia." When the inevitable panic followed, the people abused the Government instead of their own lack of judgment.

The excise was another source of bitterness and discontent. All these causes tended to build up a powerful opposition to the policy of the Federalists. Washington, not a party man himself, saw growing a strong opposition to his administration, and found it a difficult matter to maintain peace between the two most important members of his Cabinet. Jefferson had lately returned from France, imbued with the spirit of those mad days when even nobles and princes were writing odes in favor of liberty, equality and fraternity and American Republicanism seemed very tame in comparison. But he misjudged his countrymen whose patriotism was sound but not gushing. Jefferson gave to Philip Fréneau, a journalist and magazine writer, the position of translating clerk in the State Department. Fréneau proceeded to establish a journal called the *National Gazette,* which began a series of attacks upon the administration, and Hamilton in particular. Jefferson has been accused of writing many of these articles; and if he was innocent of that charge, he certainly was guilty of a great breach of good faith in retaining in the employ of the State Department a man violently abusing the Government. A great cry was raised against Hamilton's "corrupt squadrons" in Congress, it being claimed that Hamilton used Government funds to secure votes on his measures and was helping his speculating friends by loans from public moneys.

Hamilton convinced Washington of his entire innocence, and then stung to madness by the malicious slanders of the *National Gazette,* rushed into print, and lashed Jefferson over Fréneau's shoulders. He wrote anonymously but no one failed to recognize his brilliant periods. It is not strange that Washington needed the most urgent appeals to consent to serve another term and that he exclaimed: "I would rather go to my farm, take my spade in my hand, and work for my bread, than remain where I am." Notwithstanding that party feeling ran high, Washington was unanimously reëlected. John Adams, Federalist, was again made Vice-President, while George Clinton received the electoral vote of the Republican party for that office.

In the Congress of 1792-3, the Republicans made a fresh attack upon Hamilton. They introduced a series of resolutions, demanding an investigation of the Treasury, and hinting at a discrepancy of one and a half million dollars in the public accounts. Hamilton and his friends gave the inquiry full scope. Report after report from the Treasury Department poured in upon Congress, and before the session closed, everything was exposed to the public gaze. Hamilton's strict integrity was proved and he was vindicated by an overwhelming vote. There is an old saying that "there must be a little fire where there is so much smoke," and this much of truth was back of these violent partisan cries of "national stock-jobbing" and "aristocracy-jobbing." Hamilton at heart distrusted the people and the stability of free institutions and he felt it important to rally to the support of the Government a wealthy and powerful class. To further this end he was not averse to his agents disclosing Treasury secrets, where they would result in the most good—politically. He never personally benefited by his position and he died a poor man.

One of the last acts of the Congress then in session was to pass, on February 5, 1793, in accordance with a clause of the Constitution, a Fugitive Slave Law, of which little notice was taken at the time but which, at a later date, became a fruitful source of trouble.

CHAPTER IX

PRESIDENCY OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

In considering the principal events of Washington's second term, which began March 4, 1793, it is necessary to treat exclusively of the foreign relations of the Government.

It has been said that American patriotism was "not gushing," but the country now entered upon a scene of national excitement that seems to belie that statement. Hatred for England was still rampant, and friendliness of feeling towards France was a natural return for the assistance she had rendered. Therefore the news that France had imprisoned her king and proclaimed a Republic threw all America into a ferment and the event was celebrated with joy throughout the country. McMaster gives an interesting account of these extravagant demonstrations: In Boston, a roasted ox was placed on an elaborate car twenty feet high and drawn by sixteen horses. It was decorated with French and American flags, and bore the inscription: "An Offering to Liberty and Equality." Four carts followed, laden with eight hundred loaves of bread and several hogsheads of punch. After parading through the streets and dedicating an open plot of ground as Liberty Square, the procession halted on State Street and distributed the bread, meat and punch to the crowd, while zest was given to the repast by the announcement that the fat ox "represented

aristocracy, a peace-offering" (probably a burnt one) "on the altar of democracy to Liberty, Equality and the Rights of Man." In the afternoon the school children were drawn up on State Street, and that they might better remember the occasion, were each given a cake, stamped with the words "Liberty and Equality." At Faneuil Hall the French Consul was entertained in a room adorned with flags, mottoes, cherubs, broken crowns and sceptres and a great eye of Providence, which was supposed to look benignly down on the scene of love and unity below. At night a huge lantern was run up to the top of a liberty pole and threw its light over the city. On one side was painted the ruins of the Bastile and on the other a prostrate British lion and beneath him the wish that "he might never rise till he did so in support of the liberties of mankind." The rage spread, the French cockade was universally worn and a liberty cap hung in every house. It became the fashion to use the address "Citizen" instead of the usual form of "Mr."; it even appeared in the notices of death and marriage. News traveled slowly in those days and it was many months before the tidings reached America that France had beheaded her King and declared war against England. This changed the aspect of affairs, for cooler, more thoughtful men were shocked at the excesses of the revolutionists and saw the danger that threatened America. Washington had a well-defined policy which he had matured on first taking office; it was that the United States should keep clear of all foreign complications, for he believed that peace was necessary for the firm establishment of the new Government. The policy of non-intervention was to many unwelcome, but the American of today realizes how greatly it has conduced to the happiness and prosperity of his countrymen. All Wash-

ington's firmness and wisdom were needed, for there was to be a sharp and bitter division of public opinion. The situation was serious and complicated by the fact that the American Government had treaties of alliance and commerce with France, which permitted privateers and their prizes to seek shelter in American ports, while there were no treaties with England. Washington consulted with his Cabinet and it was unanimously decided to issue a proclamation of neutrality. This declared that the United States would pursue a line of conduct friendly and impartial to both belligerents, and warned all citizens against aiding or abetting either side, for in such case they would be prosecuted to the full extent of the law.

On the day the proclamation was issued, the new Minister from the French Republic, Edmond Charles Genêt, landed at Charleston, South Carolina. The city was strongly Republican and Citizen Genêt received an enthusiastic welcome. Acting under secret instructions from his Government, he at once adopted a course intended to force the United States into an alliance with France against England. He fitted out two privateers, manned them with American seamen, hoisted the French flag above their decks, and sent them forth to cruise for British merchantmen homeward bound from the West Indies. Several prizes were captured; one, "The Grange," was most unlawfully taken within the capes of Delaware Bay. Genêt having done all the mischief possible in that quarter, sent his ships north to make a dramatic arrival at Philadelphia and followed them by land. His frigate sailed up the Delaware River, accompanied by her prizes, with the English flag reversed, and the French flag flying above it. The figure-head wore a liberty cap and many mottoes were displayed; one was: "We are armed to defend the rights of man"; and an-

other: "Freemen, we are your friends and brothers." The enthusiasm that followed Genêt's arrival surpassed all previous extravagances; he was the hero of the hour. At a great banquet given in his honor, the Marseillaise was sung, the "fraternal hug" exchanged and the red liberty cap was taken from Genêt's head and allowed to rest for a few moments upon the head of each one present. Democratic societies were formed throughout the States to conserve liberty, equality and the rights of man; and this object, they seemed to think, was best obtained by heaping abuse upon their own Government. Washington had before him the difficult task not only of maintaining neutrality, but of teaching his countrymen that they must have a distinct national policy of their own. Not only was his administration now attacked, but he was subjected to the bitterest personal abuse in the pages of Fréneau's *National Gazette* and the *Aurora,* published by Bache, Benjamin Franklin's grandson and namesake. Genêt naturally presumed upon the popular fervor everywhere expressed for him and his cause. In his first interview with the President, he requested that the United States should at once pay to France a portion of the money owing her, though not yet due, as his Government needed it to prosecute the war. This proposal was declined, as were other like plans. Displeased at this, and at his cool but courteous reception and still trusting to the popular clamor, he proceeded to defy the President. The English Minister had complained of the fitting out of French privateers in American ports, and the American Government insisted that Genêt should restore "The Grange," which had been taken in neutral waters. This he consented to do but he disputed the right of the Government to prohibit him from fitting out privateers. Washington notified both

powers and then issued orders that all vessels fitted out in American seaports as privateers should be seized and the sale of their prizes prevented. Genêt thereupon conferred authority upon French Consuls to decide prize questions, as courts of admiralty, and proceeded to evade the order regarding privateers. He began to fit out a British vessel, "The Little Sarah," which had been taken as a prize, re-naming her "The Little Democrat." His plan being discovered as she was about to sail, he promised to detain her, but unfaithful to his word, sent her to sea. In the contention that followed Genêt arrogantly asserted that he would "appeal from the President to the people." Washington indignantly wrote to Jefferson: "Is the Minister of the French Republic to set the acts of this Government at defiance with impunity? And then threaten the executive with an appeal to the people! What must the world think of such conduct and of the Government of the United States in submitting to it?" Washington expressed his opinion in no uncertain tone — he requested Genêt's recall. Genêt was now informed that he must make restitution of prizes captured by French privateers fitted out in American ports, and in case of non-compliance, the United States would compensate the owners and look to the French Government for indemnity. The fact of Genêt's defiance of Washington having become known, he sank rapidly in public favor. As his Government, when recalling him, expressed decided disapproval of his conduct, he thought it wiser not to return to France. Married to a daughter of George Clinton, he lived quietly in New York for many years.

During this troubled time, the two secretaries, Jefferson and Hamilton, had been at swords' points, the one urging a vigorous policy toward France, the other hating England and sympathizing with, if not approving of, his

country's former ally. The two parties had sharply divided on the question of foreign relations and Jefferson, though Secretary of State, was the leader of the opposition. Both men finally resigned from the Cabinet, but before Jefferson retired he did good service by his correspondence with Mr. George Hammond, the British Minister, in which he vigorously protested against England's aggressive interference with American commerce. England claimed the right to stop all vessels bound for France, freighted with corn, flour and meal, and on making due payment take possession of the cargo. This forced a neutral power to supply one belligerent to the detriment of the other. American vessels were declared liable to condemnation on the attempt to enter a blockaded port. But more outrageous than all else she claimed the right to search American ships wherever waylaid and confiscate her enemy's property if found on board. If, perchance, any of the sailors in her eyes appeared to be English rather than American, she helped herself to them also.

In the midst of the excitement and irritation caused by these aggressive acts, Washington sent to Congress the name of John Jay, to be a special envoy to London to negotiate a treaty. The President had little hope of a successful issue, but he determined to do all in his power to obtain a settlement of the disputed questions and maintain an honorable peace. The appointment was confirmed and Jay on arriving in England received a cordial welcome.

By an article of the treaty, which he succeeded in negotiating, England, on condition that the so-called British debts were paid, agreed to surrender the northwest forts on June 1, 1796, but Lord Grenville refused to make any concessions on the subject of search and impressment.

There were in all twenty-eight articles which dealt with commercial questions and the subject of privateers and prizes. Briefly stated, the chief objections were that while the English debts were to be paid, the counter-claim for negroes carried off was not allowed. The right of search was not renounced; restrictions were placed upon American trade with the British colonies in the West Indies and to the north, and no compensation was made for the retention of the forts. On the other hand, America did regain them, which was vastly important to her national welfare; moreover, England agreed to pay for those ships which had been illegally captured by her privateers, and also granted rights and privileges, which were most favorable to an increase of trade with India. It was an unsatisfactory treaty, but it settled a few important matters and smoothed away some sources of present irritation; on the whole it would be a benefit to the country and Washington decided to sign it. He summoned a special session of the Senate June 8, 1795, and laid the treaty before it. The greatest secrecy had been maintained, but in some manner Bache had obtained information that enabled him to publish the main points in his paper, the *Aurora,* and fearing that a garbled report would do harm, one of the senators sent him a copy to print. When it became known the country was swept by a tempest of indignant protest, the treaty was violently denounced and the popular wrath found expression in insults to the British flag, rioting and burning in effigy. This wild disorder was assiduously encouraged by the partisans of France, but fortunately there are always men wise and cool, and as in the Genêt affair, they gathered to the support of the President.

On July 17, 1795, a mass-meeting was held in New York, in front of Federal Hall, at which Hamilton at-

tempted to say a good word for the treaty; but he was howled down and assailed with a volley of stones. One struck him, when he coolly remarked: "If you use such striking arguments, I must retire." And he did, but for one year, under the *nom de plume* of "Camillus," he published an essay every week in favor of neutrality and peace, and in support of the treaty and the administration. Insults to Jay and the British flag were the favorite sport of Republicans, and toasts such as these were very popular: "The Republic of America! May she never mistake Jay-birds for eagles!" "May the cage constructed to coop up the American eagle prove a trap for none but King-birds and Jays." One editor wrote in his paper: "The devil, in the form of a snake, seduced our first parents, and ruined the world. The same evil genius, in the form of an American Jay, has seduced our Senate and ruined a nation." There was wild talk of impeaching the President, and February 22d afforded an opportunity for Congress to affront him. It was moved that the House adjourn for half an hour. The members, it was stated, had always been in the habit of offering congratulations to the President, on his birthday, and the time should be now given them. The Republicans refused to adjourn for this purpose, although it was a practice never before omitted.

The treaty, having passed the Senate by exactly the necessary two-thirds vote, was signed by the President and thus became the law. The House of Representatives thereupon (March, 1796) requested the President to lay before them his instructions to Jay and all correspondence and documents relating to the treaty. This Washington refused, stating that the treaty-making power was vested by the Constitution solely in the President and Senate, and treaties, so made, were, by the Constitution, pro-

nounced "the supreme law of the land." Washington understood that the request was a partisan move, but he felt that it struck at the fundamental principles of the Constitution and was a direct encroachment on the rights of the executive department. The House attempted to take its revenge some weeks later, when a motion was made on the Federal side for an appropriation to execute the treaty. The Republicans determined to vote this down. Fearing that rejection would mean not only war with Great Britain but civil strife as well, the whole country was aroused. The people were becoming calmer; the mercantile classes were alarmed at the depression in trade and meetings were now held in the commercial States, in support of the President and his policy.

The debate in the House closed dramatically when Fisher Ames of Massachusetts delivered "the most eloquent speech ever heard in Congress by his generation." He was ill and his physician had opposed his speaking, but pale and feeble when he arose, the excitement of the occasion soon lent him strength and fire. He set forth the inconsistency of permitting a treaty to be ratified in every particular and then claiming the right of defeating the execution afterwards: "the wound to the public honor of the nation, should the public faith be violated, the certainty of both foreign war and anarchy, should the proposed treaty fail in this manner!" He pictured the new frontier war which would be provoked by Britain's continued retention of the posts. In concluding, he said: "I have, perhaps, as little personal interest in the event as any one here. There is, I believe, no member who will not think his chance to be a witness of the consequences greater than mine. If, however, the vote should pass to reject, and a spirit should rise, as it will, with the public disorders, to make confusion worse con-

founded, even I, slender and almost broken as my hold on life is, may outlive the Government and Constitution of my country." This speech, wrung from one apparently on the verge of the grave, carried the day, and the appropriation was finally passed by a vote of fifty-one to forty-eight. Only four negative votes were cast by New England and but four in the affirmative by the South.

At this time an incident in the political history of the State of New York, while discreditable to the party in power, yet proved the ability of the people to redress their wrongs. George Clinton had been Governor continuously for fifteen years when the Federalists nominated Jay for that office. Finding that the election had gone against Clinton, the returning board, on an alleged technical error, threw out the returns from three counties where Jay had a large vote. The people of the State, indignant at this high-handed measure, nominated Jay, at the next election, while he was in England, and elected him. This explains the fact that the most unpopular man in the country was installed as Governor of a great State. Fortunately, when the tempest subsided, Jay received the regard he so well merited.

Washington, in spite of the abuse that had been heaped upon him, was loved and honored by the vast majority of his countrymen, and they would gladly have placed him again in the President's chair, but he firmly declined to serve for a third term, and thus set a precedent that has now binding force. The attacks upon Washington by the Republican press throughout the country continued, and the *Aurora* of March 6, 1797, thus spoke of his retirement from office: "'Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace!' was the pious ejaculation of a pious man who beheld a flood of happiness rushing in upon mankind. If ever there was a time that would

license the reiteration of the ejaculation, that time has now arrived, for the man who is the source of all the misfortunes of our country is this day reduced to a level with his fellow-citizens, and is no longer possessed of power to multiply evils upon the United States. If ever there was a period for rejoicing, this is the moment. Every heart in unison with the freedom and happiness of the people, ought to beat high with exultation that the name of Washington ceases from this day to give currency to political insults and to legalize corruption." This is more than enough to show how the noblest patriot, the purest and wisest of statesmen was attacked; and pity it is that a direct descendant of Benjamin Franklin should have been his chief assailant. Washington out of the race, for the first time two parties contended for the Presidency. The Federalists nominated John Adams and the Republicans Thomas Jefferson. After an exciting campaign, Adams won by three votes in the electoral college, and Jefferson having the next highest number was declared Vice-President, according to the method of election at that time. A result most singular, for it made the leader of the opposition President of the Senate and in case of the President's death his successor in that high office.

Washington's Farewell Message (September 17, 1796) is a priceless legacy which has deeply affected National life and policy. The following brief extracts indicate the soundness of his advice: "The unity of government which constitutes you one people . . . is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize." "It occurs as a matter of serious concern that any ground should have been furnished for

characterizing parties by geographical discriminations — *northern* and *southern, Atlantic* and *western;* whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of the party to acquire influence within particular districts is, to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations. They tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection." "The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connexion as possible... Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics... Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course... Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation?... Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor or caprice? It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world... Harmony and a liberal intercourse with all nations are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest."

CHAPTER X

PRESIDENCY OF JOHN ADAMS

On March 4, 1797, John Adams became the second President of the United States. It has been said that the Adams family, early settlers upon the soil of Massachusetts, imbibed something of the granite of their native hills. John Adams certainly possessed a rugged, upright nature and a certain hardness was not lacking in his character, but his letters to his noble wife show him to have been a man of high ideals and most kind and thoughtful for those dear to him. The son of a farmer, a graduate of Harvard College and an able lawyer, he was early distinguished in the patriot cause. He placed his name to the Declaration of Independence, was one of the three who signed the Treaty of Peace at Paris, and was the first American Minister at the English Court. Vice-President under Washington, he was now to receive, as a reward for twenty-three years of faithful service, the greatest honor his countrymen could bestow. His administration was a stormy period and resulted in the overthrow of the Federalist Party, but on the whole it was advantageous for the country, as it settled for a time the vexed and dangerous question of the foreign relations of the Government. France was incensed at the Jay Treaty and relations with her were now to become as serious as those with England had previously been.

It has been said: "To sketch the administration of

John Adams... must show us great men appearing small, true patriots forgetting their country in anxiety for their party, honest men made purblind by prejudice and straying perilously near the line of dishonor. The story of these four years...is largely a tale of the most bitter feud in American History... The quarrel between Adams and Hamilton constitutes a chapter which one who admires either of them would like to omit... It was a wretched affair, in which heroes became petty and noble men ceased to inspire respect." At this period the press teemed with coarse and virulent abuse of men and measures, but for America's credit, it can be said, that the most prominent and venomous editors were foreign-born.

Adams, on taking office, retained the members of Washington's Cabinet as his own. Timothy Pickering was Secretary of State, Oliver Wolcott, Jr., Secretary of the Treasury and James McHenry Secretary of War. This was a fatal mistake; he should have placed near him men owing their advancement to him, who would have felt a sense of loyalty to their chief.

During the last year of Washington's administration, James Monroe, Minister to France, having proved indiscreet in the management of the Government's foreign relations, the President recalled him and appointed Charles C. Pinckney to succeed him. Immediately on Adams' taking office, the startling news arrived that the Directory, then administering the French Government, had refused to receive Pinckney and even threatened him with arrest if he remained in France, while to emphasize the insult they had tendered a farewell ovation to Monroe on his departure. The President called a special session of Congress for May 15th, and in a vigorous and patriotic message placed the matter before them. He desired

to maintain Washington's policy of avoiding foreign entanglements, and he felt that war should be prevented, if possible, so he proposed to send three Commissioners to France to attempt a settlement of the difficulty, but he appealed to Congress to provide meanwhile for the national defense and to strengthen the navy. The Commissioners selected were, Charles C. Pinckney, John Marshall and Elbridge Gerry. On arriving in France, they were not permitted to wait upon the Directory and present their credentials; instead, they were visited by three agents of Talleyrand and the Directory, who proposed that they should agree to the payment of a large sum of money, to be distributed among certain members of the Directory; this would obtain for them an audience and, it was hinted, might bring success to their mission.

These audacious propositions were put in writing, and, on other occasions, equally impertinent and venal demands were made. After many weeks, spent in a vain attempt to hold communication with the Government, instead of its corrupt agents, Talleyrand announced that he would treat with Gerry only. The other envoys promptly protested and then left Paris, leaving Gerry to contend unsuccessfully with the wily Talleyrand, and to return home some months later, to be censured for remaining after the departure of his colleagues. The President received reports of the entire matter and with a spirited message submitted the documents to Congress. The names of the Directory agents were designated by the letters X, Y and Z, and the X, Y, Z despatches set the country in a blaze. The warlike spirit of the President's message met a hearty response. There was a tremendous outburst of patriotism. "Hail, Columbia!" was written and became, at once, the popular song, while Pinckney's declaration, "millions for defense, but not

one cent for tribute," was on every tongue. The President and the Federalists were now on the top wave of popularity, and the next Congress was largely of that party. But it was a dangerous moment for the Federalists, who so suddenly found the opposition humbled and an excited nation in accord with them; and in fact, they now proceeded to work their own ruin by passing three bills — the New Naturalization Act, the Alien Act and the Sedition Act.

By the first, the term of residence necessary to qualify a foreigner for citizenship was prolonged from five years to fourteen years, and during that time he must be registered and reported. The Alien Act, which was limited to two years, empowered the President to banish aliens from the United States at his sole discretion; no cause need be assigned; he need only judge them dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States. If the person thus notified to depart within a certain time did not obey the order, he was subject to imprisonment for three years and could never after be admitted to citizenship. But even though imprisoned, he could be forcibly sent out of the country, if the President deemed it for the public safety; and if he then ventured to return, he could be imprisoned as long as the President saw fit to detain him. This act has no parallel in American legislation, for it made the President an autocrat and interfered with the sacred right of trial by jury, guaranteed by the Constitution. Both this act and the Naturalization Act struck a blow at immigration which, at that time, was so necessary for the building up of the nation. The Sedition Act was equally obnoxious. It made it a high misdemeanor, punished by a fine of five thousand dollars and five years' imprisonment, for persons to "unlawfully combine and conspire to oppose any measure of the Government, or

to impede the operation of any law of the United States, or to intimidate persons from taking or holding federal office, or to commit, advise, or attempt to procure any insurrection, riot, or unlawful assembly." It also declared that the "writing, printing or publishing of any false, scandalous and malicious writings against the Government of the United States, or either House of Congress, or the President, with intent to defame, or bring any of them into contempt or disrepute, or to excite against any of them the hatred of the good people of the United States, or to stir up sedition within the United States, or to excite any unlawful combinations therein for opposing or resisting any law, or lawful executive act, should be punished, on conviction before the United States Court having jurisdiction, by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars and imprisonment not exceeding two years." This act certainly infringed the liberty of speech and of the press, guaranteed by the first amendment to the Constitution. These obnoxious laws were all passed by Congress, during the session of 1798, and the bills were signed by the President, although to his credit, he had nothing to do with originating them. From the day when these un-American laws were forced upon the country by the Federalists in power, that party went steadily down to ruin. The people were shocked and alarmed. The President never enforced the Alien Law, and but six cases were ever tried under the Sedition Act. In one of these, Mathew Lyon of Vermont was sentenced to imprisonment for four months, and to pay a fine of $1,000. His State promptly reëlected him to Congress, and many years after, in 1840, Congress, by a resolution, refunded to his heirs the amount of the fine with interest. It will naturally be asked: "Why did a great party, the representatives of a free people, pass laws, on their face

unconstitutional and so opposed to the spirit of American institutions?" The Federalist party had never been truly democratic. Hamilton, its greatest leader, distrusted the masses; he never had faith in the people, and the majority of his party had the same aristocratic tendencies. They were the conservatives, and represented the well-born, the wealthy and the commercial and professional classes. They viewed with horror the Reign of Terror and the Paris mobs, drunk with blood, shouting for "Liberty, Equality and the Republic," and they were alarmed lest the avowed sympathy for France, expressed by the Republican party, which flaunted the tri-colored cockade so insolently, might lead to similar excesses in their own land. They had not then learned that the good sound sense of the American people flows strong and steady below all the tumult on the surface. Besides these groundless fears, they undoubtedly desired to take revenge upon the press, which heaped unstinted abuse upon their men and measures, and they were not averse to lessening the ranks of the Republican party to which foreign citizens naturally gravitated.

The opposition aroused by the Alien and Sedition Laws led the Legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia to pass resolutions in favor of nullification, which were written by Jefferson and Madison respectively; strange to see, under the stress of party passion, the "Father of the Constitution" attempting to break down its authority. These resolves declared that when the general Government assumed authority not delegated to it by the Constitution, its acts were null and void, and the States were in duty bound to maintain their own proper rights and liberties in opposition. Virginia and Kentucky sent their resolutions to other State Legislatures, but they met with a cold reception, and Rhode Island stoutly asserted that

the United States Supreme Court had, under the Constitution, the sole right of deciding on the constitutionality of any act or law of the Congress of the United States. It was an eminently proper reply, and furthermore the States must submit to the laws of Congress, declared constitutional by the Supreme Court, or else rise in rebellion and overthrow the Government they have created.

Congress had promptly responded to the President's appeal to prepare for defense and to strengthen the navy. This department was now (1798) separated from the army and became a distinct branch of the Government. To increase the navy was a favorite plan with President Adams. The heavy expenditures entailed by these preparations demanded an increase of revenue, and it became necessary to pass a Stamp Act, and later, to place a direct tax; slaves and real estate being selected. It was claimed that a direct tax was unconstitutional and it was, naturally, very unpopular. In 1799, the resistance in Pennsylvania led to what is known as "Fries' Rebellion." The rioting was suppressed, and the ringleader, John Fries, was tried for treason and sentenced to be hung. As the President did not think his offence was treason, as stated by the Constitution, he pardoned him.

Congress had authorized the increase of the army to thirteen thousand men, and the popular voice demanded that Washington be given the command. The President made the appointment, and it was accepted, with the request that Hamilton, Charles C. Pinckney and Knox be made his assistant generals. Then arose the question whether Hamilton or Knox should be given the command next in rank to the Commander-in-Chief, and a bitter quarrel ensued. Hamilton and the Cabinet, who were devoted to him instead of to the President, intrigued for the position. Adams disliked to confer the honor upon

Hamilton; he was a proud man, jealous of his prerogatives, but he felt obliged to comply with a request from Washington that Hamilton be appointed the second in command. During this contention, the slumbering feud between Adams and Hamilton was fanned into a flame.

While the Federalists were pushing through war measures in Congress, and the party was posing before the country as the defenders of an insulted nation, the President, on February 18, 1799, sent to the Senate the name of William Vans Murray, as *Minister to France.* This created a tremendous sensation. The President had taken no one into his confidence, and his astonished party were indignant and angry. Adams had received word from Murray, who was United States Minister at the Hague, that the French Government had intimated to him that a representative sent by his Government would be received with befitting honors. The President acted rightly and courageously in accepting the olive branch offered him; his mistake was in springing it as a surprise upon his Cabinet and the party leaders. It proved to be another fatal step in the downward path the Federalists were treading. The people were indignant at heavy taxes that now, in the dissolving war scare, appeared unnecessary, while the Federalist party, brought to halt by a renewal of diplomatic relations with France, was left without a rallying cry; an occasion of which that astute politician, Thomas Jefferson, did not neglect to take advantage. The Senate refused to confirm Murray, but appointed three Commissioners as envoys to France. They were Chief-Justice Ellsworth, Governor Davie (of North Carolina) and Vans Murray. They met in Paris and presented their credentials March 2, 1800. A new treaty was the result of the negotiations that followed. This provided for the better security of Amer-

ican commerce and that all Government and individual debts should be paid. The Senate, unwilling to support the President's foreign policy, struck out the first clause, which declared that "the binding force of the old treaties and the mutual claims for indemnities were reserved for future negotiations," and substituted an article limiting the treaty to eight years. When the amended treaty was submitted to Napoleon, he cleverly added a proviso, that cancelling the article relating to indemnities should be considered as a relinquishment of all such claims. In this form it was finally ratified. This was the origin of the French Spoliation Claims, which have, at intervals, been brought forward to vex the Government until the present day.

In the last month of 1799, faction was hushed to silence by the melancholy news of the death of Washington. Throughout the country mourning was universal; all united to honor the memory of one who was more truly the "Father of his Country" than any other man known to history, ancient or modern.

1800 was the year of the Presidential election, which was a bitter and tempestuous campaign. The Federalists were divided into two factions, led by Hamilton and Adams, while the Republicans were united under the lead of Jefferson. Every device known to the clever politician was resorted to by Hamilton to prevent Adams' reëlection. The intense feud between the leaders animated their followers, and when the campaign began in earnest, pamphlets and the press teemed with partisan abuse of the candidates and their policy; although the country always had the chance of salvation by voting as the writer advised. The members of the Cabinet who, in their devotion to Hamilton, had quite forgotten their allegiance to their chief, were at last dismissed by

the President who had become convinced of their disloyalty to him. These quarrels among the leaders worked untold mischief in the ranks.

Hamilton was out of the Presidential race himself — the contest lying between Adams and C. C. Pinckney as Federalist, and Jefferson and Burr as Republican candidates — but he concentrated all his powers to compass the defeat of Adams. He made a bitter attack upon the President, in a pamphlet issued on the eve of the election. To insult and attempt to hold up to public scorn one of the candidates of his own party at such a time was extraordinary; it was the work of a man blinded by political passion.

Congress was now established in the partly built Capitol in the new city of Washington; and there, on February 11, 1801, the votes were counted. As had been foreseen, the Federalists were defeated. Jefferson and Aaron Burr each had seventy-three votes, Adams sixty-five, and Charles C. Pinckney sixty-four. Under the methods then employed, the two candidates having the highest number of votes were declared President and Vice-President. In this case, there being a tie, the election passed to the House of Representatives, as directed by the Constitution. There each State was permitted one vote, and, as there were sixteen States, nine votes were necessary for a choice. In this emergency, Burr's powers for intrigue had full play. Believing that the Federalists would rather have him for President than Jefferson, he determined to make every effort to obtain the office regardless of the wishes of the Republicans. His conduct was unscrupulous, but such was the Federalist hatred of Jefferson that many voted for Burr. The days dragged by and still the decision hung in the balance, until, becoming alarmed at the near approach

of March 4th, and realizing the danger to the nation if that day were to arrive and there was no successor to the outgoing President, the Federalists decided to terminate the conflict. On the thirty-sixth ballot they either cast blanks or withdrew, and Jefferson was chosen President by the votes of ten States and Burr became Vice-President.

It has been said that "Mr. Adams served his country better than he served his party." We are inclined to think this high praise, but to the Federalists of his day he was a man to be hated and reviled. The partisans of Adams and Hamilton have waged a bitter war ever since as to which man had the greater responsibility for that party's extinction; for the power of Federalism expired with Adams' administration. This patriot of the Revolution, who had always been a brave, loyal, upright man, putting his country before all else, left the Presidency disappointed and humiliated. He wrote to Rufus King: "Can there be any deeper damnation in this Universe than to be condemned to a long life, in danger, toil and anxiety; and to be rewarded only with abuse, insult and slander?" For much of this Adams had himself to blame. Like many very honest people, he was totally lacking in tact, and he had an irascible temper and a self-esteem that were not always agreeable to others. Had he called to his aid a Cabinet strong and loyal, refused to sign the Alien and Sedition Bills, and managed with more discretion the renewal of diplomatic relations with France, he might have won a second term, and his party? — well, for a little longer Federalism might have been an influence, but for a brief period only, since it was out of sympathy with the strong democratic spirit of the new nation. It was a party of great men and of great measures, and it has

the undying honor of having established, with a rare wisdom that assured success, that experiment in government — the American Republic.

One of President Adams' last acts was to confer a lasting benefit upon the country by the appointment of John Marshall as Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court. For thirty-four years Marshall, by a series of masterly judicial decisions, was to firmly establish the Constitution and American nationality on an impregnable basis. John Fiske says: "The names of five great men stand before all others in the making of the Government under which we now live: George Washington, for his services in winning the independence of the United States, and the weight of wisdom with which he set the new Government in operation; James Madison, for taking the principal part in the framing of the Constitution; Alexander Hamilton, for persuading the people to adopt the Constitution, and for his bold measures, which gave shape and strength to the Federalist party; Thomes Jefferson, for illustrating the true principles of democracy, and for the sagacity with which he conducted the first great change of party supremacy, in 1801; John Marshall, for his work as Chief-Justice of the United States from 1801 to 1835, in interpreting the Constitution and increasing its elasticity and strength by his profound judicial decisions."

This great jurist was a Virginian of good family, who had served his country in the Revolution and had taken an active and honorable part in public life. He early gained eminence at the bar, and when only twenty-five years old, was a member of the Legislature in a State that had no lack of distinguished men. The peculiar bent of his mind fitted the times. American jurisprudence was as yet unborn, and new questions of the application of English

law to changed conditions were constantly arising. To create was a form of professional work that came naturally to Marshall, for he had, to a great degree, the constructive faculty. It is said of him: "His placid and genial disposition, his singular modesty, his generous heart, his kindly and unpretentious manners, the scrupulous respect he showed for the feelings and opinions of all men, his freedom from pride and affectation,... his candor, moderation and integrity, formed such a character that it might be said of him, as of Nathaniel of old: 'Behold an Israelite, indeed, in whom is no guile.'"

CHAPTER XI

PRESIDENCY OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

Thomas Jefferson was another distinguished son of the Old Dominion. He was of a good family, inherited a comfortable property, and received the best education obtainable in America for a young man of position in his day. He was fond of the classics, mathematics and the natural sciences, and this bent of mind accounts for his advanced views upon religion, which, quite out of keeping with the narrow and rigid creeds then prevalent, gained him the reputation of a free-thinker and atheist, and later afforded a constant theme for the hostile attacks of his political opponents, especially the clergy and Puritan element of New England. A rising lawyer, he married at twenty-nine a young widow, to whom he was most devotedly attached. There were ten years of happy married life, and then Mrs. Jefferson died, and her husband never re-married. During these years, Jefferson had taken an active part in public life; a member of Congress he wrote the Declaration of Independence, and he had been Governor of his own State. After his wife's death, he returned to Congress, and it was owing to his efforts that the ordinance of 1787 was passed, by which slavery was forever prohibited north of the Ohio River. He succeeded Franklin as Minister to France, returning to America shortly after Washington's inauguration, to take his place in the Cabinet as

Secretary of State. These years in France had a marked effect upon Jefferson's character. He watched with sympathy the growing spirit of liberty in that country, and became the friend and counsellor of Lafayette and his party. The extravagant enthusiasm everywhere displayed met a ready response from his speculative mind and sincere love of freedom. On his return to his native land, he expected to see the same ardent love of liberty and equality manifested on every side. His disappointment was intense. The Federalists were in power, a party in his eyes having dangerously aristocratic tendencies, and there appeared an amount of ceremony in social life that seemed quite incompatible with Republican ideas. Fresh from the extravagances of French enthusiasm, he misjudged the patriotism of the men about him. Under his leadership arose the Republican party, and for the principles it represented he entertained a profound belief. He was a man who disliked ceremonies, who felt a benevolence for all mankind, and who would like to have seen no wealthy and favored class, but all his countrymen alike prosperous and happy, and government reduced to a minimum. If these ideas were Utopian, they were at least sincerely held and did credit to the man's heart. It is one of the strange facts of Jefferson's complex character that he, an astute political leader, a man of wide information, who had seen much of the world, should have so often lapsed into the mere visionary.

In the city of Washington on March 4, 1801, shortly before noon, a plainly dressed man, escorted by a local company of militia artillery, and accompanied by several gentlemen, walked quietly from a near-by boarding-house to the capitol and entered the building. In this truly democratic manner Thomas Jefferson proceeded

to his inauguration as President of the United States. The incident is characteristic as initiating the new era of Jeffersonian simplicity. It was the first inauguration at the permanent Capital of the nation. At this time Washington was, in truth, little more than a "City of Magnificent Distances," with half-finished public buildings, scattered dwellings and miserable roadways. The new administration was destined to enjoy four years of a tranquillity in striking contrast to the tumult that had preceded it. Foreign relations were amicable, England and France taking a brief respite from hostilities and, for the present, respecting the existing treaties. At home the Republican party was led by the President, a consummate politician, whose amiable and agreeable manner won friends and subdued enemies; but the reins of power were not weakly held; it was the hand of steel in the velvet glove.

On assuming office, Jefferson refused to acknowledge what were known as "the midnight appointments"; these were the appointments of Federalists to office, which John Adams had signed up to midnight on the last night of his administration, and he made, for partisan reasons, but twenty-six removals in all during the first two years that he held office. As all places were filled by Federalists, he certainly acted with moderation, and he declared that when the Republicans had come to have a fair share of the offices, he should be rejoiced to have the only questions concerning a candidate: "Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the Constitution?" The policy of the new administration was for retrenchment and frugality. Many offices under the Government were abandoned, and the missions to Holland, Portugal and Prussia were closed as needless establishments. Congress passed the Judiciary Bill,

which repealed the act establishing additional Circuit Courts, and the army and navy were reduced to what was barely necessary. This rigid economy rendered possible a very popular measure — the suppression of all internal taxes. Thus were abolished the hated excise and the direct tax. Jefferson was not a financier, but he had placed a most capable man at the head of the Treasury Department. This was Albert Gallatin, a Swiss by birth, who for thirteen years managed with skill and prudence the financial affairs of the Government. The other Cabinet members were: James Madison, Secretary of State; Robert Smith of Maryland, Secretary of the Navy; General Henry Dearborn, Secretary of War; and Levi Lincoln, Attorney-General. Jefferson wrote, after leaving office: "The third administration, which was of eight years, presented an example of harmony, in a Cabinet of six persons, to which perhaps history has furnished no parallel. There never arose, during the whole time, an instance of an unpleasant thought or word between the members."

During Jefferson's first term, Ohio was admitted as a State (1802), the Military Academy at West Point was established (December 12, 1803), and the twelfth amendment to the Constitution was adopted;[1] this provided that the Presidential electors should designate on distinct ballots the President and the Vice-President, and made other changes in the conduct of the voting, all of which regulations are in force at the present day.

The Naturalization Act, passed in Adams' administration, was repealed, and the previous term of five years' residence necessary to qualify the foreign-born for citizenship, was restored. The Alien and Sedition Acts had already expired by limitation. In order to prevent

[1] Ratified by the States and became the law September 25, 1804.

the speculations of large land companies, the wise plan was adopted of selling the public lands in quarter sections, that is, in a tract of one hundred and sixty acres. The country, under the new rule of peace and economy, grew prosperous, and the Republicans saw the Federalists, day by day, join their ranks; finally, both Houses of Congress became overwhelmingly Republican or Democratic-Republican, as they began to call themselves. They were ultimately to drop the Republican altogether and become simply the Democratic party.

These four years, so agreeable to contemplate, were marked by an event of far-reaching importance — the purchase of Louisiana. In 1800, by a secret treaty, Spain ceded Louisiana to France. Two years later, the Spanish Intendant at New Orleans announced the cession to the people and proclaimed the port of that city closed to all vessels except those of Spain. This was in direct opposition to the treaty between the United States and Spain, and on a protest from the United States Government the order was rescinded. But the Americans fully recognized the menace to the future prosperity of the western country, if an aggressive foreign power were to retain control of the river and become an unwelcome neighbor on their western border. Robert R. Livingston had been sent as Minister to France, and later James Monroe was appointed his associate, with directions to obtain a settlement of the question, and the matter was decided, but in a manner quite unforeseen. On April 30, 1803, a treaty was signed at Paris, by which France ceded the vast territory of Louisiana to the United States for the sum of 60,000,000 francs and the relinquishment of debts due the United States, amounting to 15,000,000 francs; in all, a sum about equivalent to $15,000,000. This great tract, of about 1,000,000 square miles, included

the present State of Louisiana, and extended north to British America. Its eastern boundary was the Mississippi River, and the western boundary followed a line running on the north of what is now Texas to the interior of the present Colorado; thence passing west of the Rocky Mountains northward to British America. Napoleon's reasons for thus parting with an empire can only be conjectured. Undoubtedly, he needed money to further his schemes of conquest in Europe, and he must have realized the difficulty of retaining the country should it be invaded by the United States, or his enemy, England. Furthermore, at that time, the "Man of Destiny" saw his star rising over Egypt and the East rather than over the wilds of America. The President summoned Congress, and the Senate promptly ratified the treaty on October 17, 1803. The Federalists were now only a small faction, but they did not fail to seize the occasion and at once raised the cry that the Louisiana purchase was unconstitutional. The Republican party had bitterly opposed the doctrine of the "implied powers" and had proclaimed, at all times, their belief in a strict construction of the Constitution; that Jeffersonian doctrine was now dealt a fatal blow. In adding this vast domain, out of which to carve future States far in excess of the original thirteen, they had gone further than the most daring Federalist had ever ventured.

The question of constitutionality, that is, of the supreme power of the Government under the Constitution, has been re-affirmed by subsequent acquisitions of territory; but Jefferson, as an advocate of the doctrine of state rights, felt that, in signing the treaty, he had, to use his own words, "done an act beyond the Constitution," and he relied for justification simply upon the wisdom of the act and the wish of the nation. His ad-

vice bespeaks the clever politician. He wrote to Madison: "The less that is said about any Constitutional difficulty, the better... It will be best for Congress to do what is necessary in silence." Congress acted on this advice, and both Houses passed, by large majorities, a bill to provide for the execution of the treaty. A government was at once organized for this new possession. The present State of Louisiana was made a territory named "Orleans," and the remainder of the country was called the "District of Louisiana," with St. Louis as its principal settlement.

At this time the United States, as well as the nations of Europe, paid tribute to the Barbary States to secure immunity from attack by those pirates, who preyed upon the commerce of the Mediterranean. When Captain Bainbridge, in 1800, carried the stipulated sum of money to Algiers, the Dey compelled him to convey despatches to the Sultan of Turkey. Other insolent demands followed, to which the United States Government made a fitting response. The navy was increased, several of the enemy's cruisers were destroyed and Tripoli bombarded. As a result of this vigorous course a treaty was framed, in 1805, by which American rights were fully recognized. The new nation having shown Europe the wisest way to deal with pirates, she profited by the example and ceased to pay blackmail.

A sad page of political history relates to the tragedy with which Aaron Burr was so intimately connected. Aaron Burr's father was a clergyman of the best Puritan stock, President of Princeton College and a man honored and beloved by all. His mother was a noble, Christian woman, a daughter of that great theologian, the Rev. Jonathan Edwards. It is most singular that Aaron Burr, the shifty politician, the crafty leader of men, the brilliant

and polished man of the world, whose private life was notoriously immoral, should have been the offspring of this devout and upright ancestry. In his case heredity seems to have received a queer twist. Burr's parents and grandparents dying within the space of thirteen months, the young child was left to the care of his uncle, the Honorable Timothy Edwards, who brought him up as his own son, after the manner of that time, not sparing the rod, but always prefacing the castigation by a long prayer for the offender's reformation. Burr, when sixteen years of age, graduated from Princeton College. After a time he began the study of law, but fired by enthusiasm for the patriot cause, threw aside his books, entered the army and joined Arnold's expedition to Quebec. During that terrible march through the wilderness he bore himself bravely, displaying always the imperturbable coolness that distinguished him throughout his checkered career. His military record deserves the praise due a brave soldier; at twenty-one he was made Lieutenant-Colonel; but after four years of service ill-health compelled him to resign. He resumed his law studies and on beginning practice was at once successful. Colonel Burr, handsome, fascinating, well-born and famous, now astonished society by marrying a widow ten years older than himself, the mother of two boys and having but a small property and no claim to beauty. But she was the fortunate possessor of a well-cultivated mind and a graceful and winning manner. Burr was deeply attached to her and their twelve years of married life were most happily passed at Richmond Hill. This handsome country house, famous for its refined hospitality, stood in New York city where Charlton and Varick Streets now meet, its ample lawns extending to the Hudson River. Mrs. Burr's death left to her husband's care their daughter Theodosia,

whom Burr loved with passionate devotion his life long, though he often grieved that faithful heart, which ever loved and forgave him. In 1791 he was elected by the Legislature of New York to the United States Senate and from that time became prominent in political life. His unscrupulousness in attempting to obtain the Presidency, when Jefferson was undoubtedly the choice of his party, angered the Republicans, and when they nominated Jefferson for reëlection they dropped Burr and nominated George Clinton in his place. Indignant at being turned down by his party, Burr determined to become Governor of New York. He had a following in that State and came forward as a candidate, hoping, by dividing his party and bidding for Federalist votes, to carry the election against the regular Republican candidate Chief-Justice Lewis, a man greatly honored by men of all parties. Many Federalists were disposed to vote for Burr, but Hamilton's influence prevented the party from formally accepting him. After a bitter campaign Lewis was elected by a large majority. Burr, bankrupt in purse and prospects, was now desperate. To Hamilton he ascribed his defeat, and determining to take revenge upon one, who was his rival at the bar and his political enemy, he wrote to him demanding a disavowal of certain offensive remarks Hamilton was reported to have made concerning him, or else, the satisfaction usual among gentlemen. Alas! for the moral code of the day. Hamilton accepted the challenge and the duel took place in the early morning of a July day at Weehawken. Hamilton is said to have fired in the air; Burr took deliberate aim, and his victim fell mortally wounded. He died on the afternoon of the following day, July 12, 1804. When his death was announced to the excited city, flags were placed at half-mast and universal gloom prevailed.

On the day of the funeral every church bell was muffled and tolled for an hour during the morning and the same at evening. As the long procession passed through the streets to Trinity Church, minute guns were fired from the Battery and from English and French frigates in the harbor. All the while Burr was in hiding at Richmond Hill. Ten days later the coroner's jury found him guilty of murder, issued a warrant for his arrest, and he hastily left the State.

Hamilton was a man greatly beloved by a host of friends. He had his faults, without doubt, but they were never those of littleness or meanness, but of a powerful and passionate nature when it had broken down all barriers of control. Schouler says of him: "This Cæsar of a commonplace world, which yielded, unfortunately for the scope of his powers, more to laws than individuals; this financier, whose feats with the public credit had astonished two continents; this imperial soul, which had dwelt in near companionship to Washington; this statesman, who at thirty-five despised the subtle Jefferson, a man nearly fifty; who sought to bend that venerable oak, John Adams; who never doubted his own position among the wealthiest, the oldest in family influence, in a country upon which he had been cast a waif; this wonderful American reached the zenith of his public influence when about thirty and died at forty-seven."

In the Presidential election of 1804 Jefferson was reelected by a large majority, receiving 162 electoral votes, while Charles C. Pinckney, the Federalist candidate, had but fourteen. The Republican party everywhere triumphed, even Massachusetts casting her vote for Jefferson. The only States to cast any Federalist ballots whatever were Connecticut, Delaware and Maryland. The President, naturally, was greatly pleased with the result

and wrote to a friend: "The two parties which once contended with such violence have almost melted into one." One cause of this union was a change of sentiment in the Republicans; they had approached the Federalist position and no longer hesitated to give a broad construction to the Constitution and to strengthen the powers of the general Government. Day by day the State was falling into its proper place and the Government becoming more national. But already a cloud was rising to dim the brightness of the prospect, and the next four years were full of disaster. As before, the conflict between England and France was to react upon the United States. It is only necessary to give a general consideration to the acts, direct and retaliatory, by which each of these two great nations in attempting to cripple the power of the other, seriously endangered the welfare of the American Republic. In August, 1804, England, by Orders in Council, declared all ports from Ostend to the Seine in a state of rigorous blockade. In May, 1806, the United States Government was notified that the coast of France, with all rivers and ports, was blockaded from the River Elbe to Brest. To these British measures Napoleon retaliated by the Berlin decree, which declared the British Islands in a state of blockade and all commerce and correspondence with them prohibited. This was answered by further Orders in Council, during the autumn of 1807, by which all ports and places belonging to France and her allies, from which the British flag was excluded and all colonies of His Britannic Majesty's enemies were declared in a state of blockade. All trade in the produce and manufactures of those countries and colonies was prohibited, and all vessels trading to or from them and all merchandise on board were made subject to capture and condemnation. To this France replied with the Milan decree (December,

1807), which declared every ship, whatever its nationality and whatever its cargo, sailing from the ports of England, or of her colonies, or of countries occupied by British troops, and proceeding to England, or to her colonies, or to countries occupied by the English, to be good prize; and every ship, of whatever nation, which had submitted to search by an English ship, or made a voyage to England, or had paid any tax to that Government, was declared denationalized and lawful prize. In April, 1808, Napoleon issued the decree of Bayonne, which directed that all American vessels entering the ports of France, Italy, or the Hanse Towns, should be seized and condemned. Mr. Walker remarks: "It has by some been alleged that the French people, while exceedingly witty, are destitute of humor; and certainly the Berlin and Milan decrees afford a striking corroboration of this view... The declaration by France of blockade, not only of the British Islands, but of British colonies and of all countries occupied by British troops, exceeds anything seen upon the stage in opéra bouffe."

But these decrees afforded no amusement to the United States, who saw her ships seized, their cargoes confiscated, her commerce ruined and trade stagnant. In fact little was left to America but her own coasting trade, for one-half the mercantile world was closed to her by the British and the other half by the French. Britain was mistress of the sea, but her commerce was injuriously affected by the war, while that of the United States was advancing rapidly. It was a clever political move to shut up her rival within her own gates. In this emergency, Congress determined to increase the navy, and the President exerted his influence to have additional gunboats built. Several of these had already been constructed under Jefferson's direction, and as he knew nothing of

naval architecture they were curious craft, having one or two masts, mounting one gun and designated by numerals. The President was convinced that they were an adequate sea-coast defense, but needless to say, they excited great derision, especially among the Yankee seamen. Shortly after the first one was finished and floated in Charleston Harbor, a terrible cyclone visited the coast; the waters rose and washed inland. When the floods subsided, Gunboat No. 1 was left high and dry in a cornfield, eight miles from her moorings. That was sufficient to set all the wit of the nation in brilliant play. Here is a toast that was proposed at a public dinner in Boston: "Gunboat No. 1. If our gunboats are of no use upon the water, may they at least be the best upon earth."

In addition to these boats, dubbed "the mosquito fleet," the navy consisted of two frigates fit for service, six others out of repair and ten smaller craft, among these being two new sloops. A poor showing for a nation destined within seven years to engage in war with the greatest naval power in the world.

The President desired, as had his predecessors in office, to maintain a strict neutrality. He had not been a successful war Governor of Virginia during the Revolution, and he was now to repeat that failure, for, preëminently a man of peace, he was ill-fitted for the task before him. In January, 1806, he sent to Congress a special message treating of impressment and the infringement of neutrality. Impressment was arousing great bitterness of feeling throughout the seaboard states. In violation of the rights of neutrals English frigates stopped and overhauled American merchantmen, summoned the passengers and sailors on deck and forcibly carried off all whom it suited her convenience to claim as British subjects. English frigates cruised in the neighborhood of American harbors

for the express purpose of obtaining men to supply the loss of her own seamen. Six thousand American citizens were impressed before the war of 1812 put a stop to British aggressions.

The Jay treaty having expired by limitation, James Monroe, Minister at London, and William Pinckney, a special envoy from the United States, after six months of negotiation, signed a new treaty December 31, 1806. England refused to renounce her claim to right of search and impressment, and on the whole, the treaty was so disadvantageous that Jefferson never submitted it to the Senate. This rejection of a treaty without the aid of the Upper House was accounted by many unconstitutional

Notwithstanding the irritation produced by England's aggressive course, various measures were adopted in hope of a peaceable settlement, but the only result was to postpone the conflict until the next administration. In June, 1807, the American frigate "Chesapeake," putting out to sea from Hampton Roads, was fired upon by the British frigate "Leopard" and obliged to surrender three seamen — alleged deserters from the British navy. The news that a vessel of the American navy had, under a raking fire, been obliged to lower its flag and submit to the demands of an English captain, aroused the nation to fury. "This country," wrote Jefferson, "has never been in such a state of excitement since the battle of Lexington." The President issued a proclamation, ordering all British men-of-war out of American waters. Word was sent to the states to have their militia in readiness, and the naval force was so disposed as to best protect the ports. But the mosquito fleet was of little use, and British frigates sailed in and out of American harbors as suited their convenience.

Mr. Morse says: "The English policy was simple; since

the Americans would not fight, they were the easier objects of plunder. The French principle was responsive; since the Americans are to be robbed, we must share the booty." Truly, a humiliating position for the Americans, but one fails to see how the United States, with her "mosquito fleet," could have fought both great nations at once.

To offset the various decrees and Orders in Council, the President laid before Congress a plan for placing an embargo. Such was Jefferson's influence that an Embargo Act was passed, after four days' debate, December 22, 1807. This act was unlimited as to time; by it all vessels were prohibited from leaving American ports except foreign armed vessels and foreign merchantmen, with cargoes aboard, when notified of the order. Coasting vessels were required to give bonds to land their cargoes at some port of the United States. This act was at first hailed with enthusiasm, even John Quincy Adams, son of the late President, throwing Federalism aside and voting with the Republicans. By this measure the Government meant to protect its ships and men from capture, and by cutting off all trade, compel the enemy to repeal commercial restrictions. The speculative philosopher in the President's chair apparently forgot that the advantages of commerce are reciprocal. It was soon evident that in injuring her foes America was doing serious harm to herself. In all the seaports trade was at a standstill, men were idle, supplies of all kinds accumulated in the warehouses, and by spring the distress was great. This led to evasion of the law. Smuggling on the lakes and Canadian border became common, and vessels had a strange fancy for taking in Halifax or a West Indian Island on a coasting trip. More stringent laws were passed, and the people were aroused to deeper resent-

ment. Memorials for repeal of the embargo poured in upon Congress, and meetings to denounce the act were held throughout the North. But Congress stood by the executive, and for the better enforcement of the act, on January 6, 1809, after a stormy debate that lasted all night until six o'clock in the morning, passed an Enforcing Act, which conferred despotic power upon the President when dealing with foreign and domestic commerce. Since the Alien and Sedition Bills, no act so objectionable had been passed by Congress, for it not only infringed the right to security from search and seizure, guaranteed by an amendment to the Constitution, but freely employed the army and navy in its service. The commercial States were in a blaze; New England threatened to withdraw from the Union. Jefferson had now to take his own dose of nullification, and it was not an agreeable draught. One writer remarks: "Mr. Jefferson was alarmed at the prospect, and began to be doubtful of the virtue of his panacea. The connection between making grass grow in the streets of Boston, Salem, Newport and New Haven, and overthrowing the British Government, appeared to him somewhat less plain than at the beginning."

In February, 1809, the last month of the President's official term, the embargo was repealed after long and heated debates, and the policy of non-intercourse with England and France was substituted, to take effect in March.

Before leaving Jefferson's administration, we must return to Aaron Burr. This Vice-President of the United States, who was under indictment for murder, at the close of his term of office bade farewell to the Senate in an impressive address, and turned his steps westward. A tour through the country as far as New Orleans paved

the way for an ambitious scheme. His plans were never fully ascertained, but it is supposed that he intended to separate the western States from the Union and make himself ruler of a new empire, which should include not only the western half of the United States, but Mexico as well, with New Orleans for the capital. Such was his charm of manner that he soon gathered a number of followers about him, chief of these being a young Englishman, Harman Blennerhassett, whose beautiful home, on an island in the Ohio, became the headquarters of Burr. General Wilkinson, who was in charge of the District of Louisiana, had been informed as to Burr's plans, and becoming alarmed at the part he was being led to take, drew back and communicated with the President. Burr was on his way down the Mississippi, with a small force, when Jefferson issued a proclamation calling for his arrest. He fled to the wilderness, but was finally apprehended and sent to Richmond, where Chief-Justice Marshall was holding Circuit Court. After weeks of legal skirmishing, Burr's trial for treason was moved, August 3, 1807. During this time he had been treated as a prisoner of distinction, receiving every attention from the friends surrounding him. Though under guard, he had a good suite of rooms, and these were usually so thronged with guests as to have the appearance of a levee. Through all, he was as agreeable and imperturbable as ever. "I hope, sir," said his jailor, "that it would not be disagreeable to you if I should lock this door after dark?" "By no means," replied the prisoner, "I should prefer it, to keep out intruders."

Treason, under the Constitution of the United States, consists in levying war against the United States, or in adhering to its enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person can be convicted of treason except on the testi-

mony of two witnesses to the act, or on confession in open court. Burr had been too clever, the charge could not be proved, but the jury, equal to the occasion, brought in a verdict which declared him innocent, yet intimated their belief in his guilt. It was: "We, the jury, say that Aaron Burr is not proved to be guilty under this indictment by any evidence submitted to us. We therefore find him not guilty." Burr was set free, to live through long and bitter years of expiation, though receiving proofs of personal devotion to the end of his days.

1808 was the limit of time set by the Constitution for the importation of slaves, and Congress passed a law forbidding the traffic after January 1 of that year. By this bill any person fitting out a vessel for the slave trade was fined $20,000, and for taking on board any colored person for sale within the United States the penalty was $5000. Any person who transported or sold any such person was liable to five or ten years' imprisonment and the payment of a sum ranging from $1000 to $10,000. Any purchaser cognizant of the fact could be fined $800. Vessels, under certain conditions, were liable to be seized and forfeited. This was passed in spite of acrimonious debate, for the anti-slavery societies had done good work and the President favored the measure.

Jefferson had a very compliant Congress, but the Republican party, which had solidly supported the administration, broke ranks during the second term. John Randolph, the acknowledged leader of the Republicans in the House, for some unknown cause, turned against his chief and soon became the leader of a small but troublesome faction, called the "Quids"; so named because they attempted to pose as a third party and had been wittily called "tertium quid" — a third what?

"Randolph of Roanoke," as he is usually called,

claimed descent from Pocahontas. He was destined to enliven Congress for twenty-five years by his eccentric manners and strangely fascinating oratory, which excelled in stinging invective, but frequently became insulting. It is said: "He was a freakish politician, true to no party but himself."

Jefferson's policy of economy and Gallatin's able management had produced most satisfactory results. During these eight years $33,580,000 of the public debt was paid and there was a handsome surplus in the Treasury. Jefferson having refused to be a candidate for reëlection, the Republicans put up Madison. Both Monroe and Clinton desired the nomination, but Jefferson, who owned the party, gave Madison preference; so Monroe bided his time, and George Clinton was again given the second place on the ticket. In the Electoral College, Madison received 122 votes, and Charles C. Pinckney, the Federalist candidate, 47. George Clinton received 113 votes for the Vice-Presidency.

Jefferson gladly laid aside the burden of office and retired to his home, Monticello, in Virginia, where he was to exercise a wide hospitality, exchange long, friendly letters with his former opponent, John Adams, and bear with becoming grace and dignity the proud title, "The Sage of Monticello."

CHAPTER XII

PRESIDENCY OF JAMES MADISON

James Madison of Virginia was inaugurated March 4, 1809. He was the son of a small planter, was educated at Princeton, and had been prominent in public life since his twenty-fifth year. He has already been alluded to as the "Father of the Constitution" and as being one of the most prominent among those who labored for its adoption. He appears always to have been the statesman, even as a young man being a most grave and serious person. At forty-three, he married a beautiful young widow, "Dolly Madison"; she is so called upon her tombstone, and it rather bespeaks the charming woman of the world than the Quakeress she was by birth.

As an ardent supporter of the Constitution Madison was a Federalist; but after Jefferson's return from France, he joined the Republican party and became the devoted and faithful lieutenant of its chief. He took an active part in the attempt to overthrow Hamilton and with Jefferson was accused of being connected with Fréneau's *Gazette*.

Jefferson had taken no part in framing the Constitution, but how different with Madison, who now became associated with the party that contained his former antagonists — the Anti-Federalists. The explanation for this change probably lies in the fact that Madison was a man of strong democratic feeling and distrusted the aristocratic tendencies of the Federalist party.

On taking office, Madison retained Gallatin at the head of the Treasury. He was the only man of first-class ability in the new Cabinet, and having distinguished himself in guiding the previous administration through the turmoil of the embargo and the enforcing act, was entitled to the position of Secretary of State. That he failed to obtain it was owing to the intrigues of a faction opposing him. It has been said: "Washington ruled superior to party, Adams ruled in spite of a party, Jefferson ruled as the head of a party. The national Government from *now* on falls gradually into the hands of Congress and Congressional cliques and leaders, in coöperation or conflict; these in turn acknowledging the pressure all the while of a profound and pervading influence, to which they must account, of public opinion, whose indications are watched like changes of the weather."

Madison's administration opened with fair prospects, for in April, 1809, there was an apparent settlement of the British imbroglio. David Montague Erskine, the British Minister at Washington, stated that his Government would make reparation for the "Chesapeake" affair and would also recall the Orders in Council on condition that the United States would rescind the non-intercourse act. The President gladly accepted these agreeable overtures and hastened to proclaim the good tidings. Unhappily, the rejoicing was short-lived, for in July came the news that Erskine was recalled and his negotiations repudiated, the British Ministry asserting that he had misrepresented his instructions and exceeded his authority. The President acted promptly; by a proclamation (August 1, 1809) he restored the non-intercourse act. The new British Minister, Francis James Jackson, arrived in September. His insolent manner soon made him obnoxious, and having intimated that the President

and his Cabinet understood the limit of Erskine's instructions and had designedly led him to transcend, Madison refused to hold further communication with him, and the impertinent diplomat was obliged to return to England. When Congress met, the outlook was gloomy, and Gallatin's report showed, for the first time during his Secretaryship, a deficit in the revenue, the result of the embargo act. A few months later, March, 1810, matters were further complicated by the Rambouillet decree. By this edict of Napoleon, every American vessel and cargo which, since the previous May, had entered or should enter any port of France or her colonies, or any country occupied by France, was liable to be seized and sold. This order would apply to Spain, Holland and Italy. American ships having put forth heavily laden during the interval of repeal were now captured by hundreds. The reasons can be readily discerned for Napoleon's attitude towards the United States. He desired to capture the supplies that otherwise would, in all likelihood, fall into the possession of his enemy. He wished the United States to take arms against England, and was not averse to punishing a nation resolutely thwarting his plans by persistent neutrality.

Early in 1810, the Non-Intercourse Act expired by limitation. Congress failed to restore it, but passed instead, Macon's Bill No. 2 (May 1, 1810). Nathaniel Macon was Chairman of the Committee having the Bill in charge, and had presented a previous measure (Macon's Bill No. 1) which proposed a wiser policy of retaliation; but it had been inspired by Gallatin, and the cabal opposed to him had succeeded in killing it. Macon's Bill No. 2 provided that if either England or France, before March 3, 1811, so revoked their decrees that the neutral commerce of America was no longer violated,

the President should proclaim the fact, and if the other nation should not, within three months thereafter, do the same, then the Non-Intercourse Act should be revived against the offending nation. This was a sorry ending to all the heated debates and wrangles, for from Madison's taking office until war was declared against England, in 1812, excited debates in Congress tossed English orders, French decrees, Napoleon's treachery and British aggressions back and forth, from day to day and month to month. Macon's Bill No. 2 merely offered a present inducement and a future threat. Napoleon cleverly seized the opportunity to bid for American commerce and to further embroil the United States with England. Through the Duke of Cadore he informed the American Minister at Paris that in failing to reënact the Non-Intercourse Law, his Government had shown friendship for France and had, by the Macon Bill, engaged to oppose whichever belligerent refused the rights of neutrals. He should, in consequence, revoke the Berlin and Milan decrees. The Duke added: "It is with most particular satisfaction that I inform you of this resolution of the Emperor. His Majesty loves the Americans. Their prosperity and their commerce enter into the views of his policy. The independence of America is one of the principal titles of the glory of France." Delightful flattery, though reminding one of the old fable of the fox and the crow with the cheese.

Napoleon had placed his *own* interpretation upon the Macon Bill, yet the news of his friendly intention was received with satisfaction. The Cadore letter simplified matters; it left only England to be dealt with. And how did she receive this new departure? In no conciliatory spirit. She expressed her doubt of Napoleon's sincerity, and declared that when she saw the new policy

enforced beyond a doubt, she would act accordingly. On November 2, 1810, the President issued a proclamation, announcing that the Berlin and Milan decrees were revoked, which was, in effect, a three months' warning to England. Those were not happy months for America. France more than excited suspicion of her good faith by new commercial laws. By these, thirty American vessels were permitted to bring stated articles of merchandise to France, but must take certain French goods in exchange for their cargoes. The vessels must sail from either the port of New York, or Charleston, and to prove the fact, the Captain must bring a newspaper published in the city from whence he sailed, printed on the day of sailing, and also a certificate from the French Consul with a sentence written in cipher.

As for England, she would give no intimation of her intentions beyond her determination to watch the course of France, but the news that the English admiralty had condemned eighteen American vessels with their cargoes, in all valued at about $1,000,000, was a fresh cause of indignation. In this time of doubt and anxiety the President had to bear more than his share of annoyance, owing to the cabal in his own party, which succeeded in defeating administration measures and greatly embarrassing the executive. At last, Madison dismissed his incompetent Secretary of State, Robert Smith, of Maryland (who, with his brother in the Senate, had cared little who suffered, if they could but strike Gallatin), and appointed in his place James Monroe. This was a wise choice and united the party more closely. Gallatin, feeling that his enemies had destroyed his usefulness in the Cabinet, resigned, and the President appointed him to the Russian Mission.

The charter of the United States Bank expired in

March, 1811. The bank had been a great success; its circulation was $5,000,000, and its $13,000,000 of liabilities was offset by $23,600,000 of assets, while it paid a dividend to the stockholders of eight and one half per cent. It had proved very useful to the Government in transacting business, but when application was made to Congress for renewal of its charter, all the old antagonism was aroused. Again it was declared to be unconstitutional, to favor a moneyed class and, a new objection, it would injure the state banks; there were now 103 of these institutions conducted with more or less recklessness. The advocates of the bank declared it constitutional, set forth the advantages to business of a sound bank, with branches in all the large cities, and the danger to the country in disturbing its finances on the eve of a war. The contest was bitter, but finally renewal was lost by a tie vote in the Senate, the Vice-President voting "No." Congress destroyed the bank, and by so doing contracted the currency by over $5,000,000.

The President's proclamation made February 2, 1811, the day upon which all communication with Great Britain should cease unless she had revoked her oppressive measures. The time having passed, the Non-Intercourse Act was again in force, and in February a bill was introduced in Congress for confirming by legislative enactments the President's proclamation. Randolph and the Quids, aided by the Federalists, attempted by every device to prevent a vote. At last, during an all-night session, after a scene of wild disorder which resulted in a duel between Randolph and his opponent in debate, a vote was taken at five o'clock in the morning, and in order to compel a decision the rule of the previous queston was enforced as it is now understood. McMaster says:

"Thus was firmly established the Congressional procedure; the rule of the previous question; the rule which centralizes power in the hands of the majority, which cuts off debate, which stifles the voice of the minority and deprives it of the greatest of the few privileges which in our system of government it properly possesses. It is indeed a fundamental principle of government by the people that the majority shall rule. But it is likewise a fundamental principle that the majority shall be fair and just, that it shall not be tyrannical, that it shall not do acts merely because it has the power. Yet it is precisely such arbitrary acts that the rule of the previous question enables the majority to do. On the February day, when it was adopted, Congressional government suffered a great revolution. Since that day Congress has steadily become less and less of a deliberative body, and more and more a body whose duty is to register the decrees of the majority."

The nation was rapidly drifting into a war which was opposed by New England and the conservative element throughout the country.

By 1811 a change had taken place in national politics, it was no longer the North and South, but the West as well. A new element had arisen — "Young America," and a new leader — Henry Clay. It has been said: "Few public characters in American History have been the subjects of more heated controversy than Henry Clay. There was no measure of detraction and obloquy to which, during his lifetime, his opponents would not resort, and there seemed to be no limit to the admiration and attachment of his friends."

Henry Clay, the son of a Baptist clergyman, was born April 12, 1777, in a Virginian neighborhood called the "Slashes." His father died leaving a large family

in destitute circumstances. The hard-working mother sent Henry to the log-cabin school-house, and when not at school, the boy worked as he could, often riding to mill seated on the bag of grain thrown across the horse in place of a saddle; this, in later years, gave rise to the campaign cry, "Vote for the Mill-boy of the Slashes." At fourteen he was placed in a store at Richmond, but after a year became clerk in a law office, where he attracted the attention of the famous Chancellor Wythe, who made him his amanuensis and took a fatherly interest in the clever lad. He studied for the bar, and, on being admitted, decided to go to Kentucky and grow up with the country. In that flourishing community he soon became a celebrated criminal lawyer, gained wealth, and married a most estimable young woman, who became the devoted mother of eleven children. Clay was sent to the United States Senate to fill an unexpired term, and later, on November 4, 1811, when but thirty-four years old, took his seat as a member of the House of Representatives, which proceeded to elect him speaker. He now became a remarkable figure in political life, and it is said: "The secret of his power lay in the...gift of persuading others, in his mastery of the American heart, which he swayed while swaying with it, — first, by his eloquence, full of bold imagery, whose vehemence shamed the timid and roused the vigorous; next, by a skilful management of men with different proclivities, whom he drew together by a thrill of personal sympathy... From the moment he took the gavel into his hand, Quincy and Randolph had a foeman worthy of them; the House, the popular leader whom two Presidents had sought in vain; and the country, a foreign policy the most spirited, if not the wisest." The "War Hawks," as Clay's followers were

called, urged vigorous measures. The army was increased, and appropriations voted for military supplies and for the better equipment of the navy. Owing to the Republican policy of economy, Congress was more willing to provide for the army than for the navy, arguing that additional troops could at any time be disbanded, but that an increase of the navy meant a permanent outlay, as ships must necessarily be retained after the need for them had passed. Again it was argued, Great Britain is all powerful upon the sea. We shall have only to protect our ports; we cannot hope to contend with her navy; but we shall conquer on land, invade Canada, and dictate peace from Halifax or Quebec, — the "War Hawks" were not insistent upon *which* city. The results were to be strangely different. The war party was now in the lead, and Madison must join in the march or be left behind; it has been asserted that his nomination for a second term was made conditional upon his declaring for war. He was reëlected and inaugurated on March 4, 1813, with Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, Vice-President. Madison was a friend of peace and well aware of the danger of entering into a war with one of the greatest powers in the world while so ill prepared. But he was borne along with the popular current. On April 4, 1812, he signed the bill which placed an embargo for ninety days. This was considered a preliminary war measure by the "War Hawks," but the peace party hoped it would wring a final concession from Great Britain. The war fever rose in the South and West; the opposition became more intense in the North and East. On June 18, 1812, Congress declared war against Great Britain, and five days after England revoked her "Orders in Council." Impressment, however, was still enforced and the war continued.

The Americans were very successful upon the sea, for the hardy sailors of New England understood their duties and burned to redress the wrongs of impressment. Not only were the achievements of the regular navy remarkable, but privateers put out from every port and did glorious work; amazed Britain saw seventeen hundred British ships captured during the three years of war. The land record was disastrous; the Americans never gained a foothold in Canada, and finally had to fight to regain what they had lost. Washington was taken and all the public buildings burned except the Patent Office, but a brave resistance saved Baltimore and sent the invaders back to their ships. These misfortunes were owing to raw troops and a lack of competent officers. Those who had commanded in the Revolution were now too advanced in years for active service and the young men, untrained and inexperienced, made but a poor showing against seasoned soldiers, who had led their men against the armies of Napoleon. But by the third year of the war, the troops had become more competent and young commanders of merit were coming to the front; the Americans began to regain lost ground, which was most fortunate, for England, aroused by her enemy's naval success had sent a great squadron and strongly blockaded the coast. There was one great victory — the battle of New Orleans, where the American troops under General Andrew Jackson, defeated the trained veterans of the Peninsula, a month after the treaty of peace was signed, but before the news had been received in those days of slow communication.

A far distant power aided in securing the Treaty of Peace. The Emperor of Russia was ill pleased that his ally, England, should have another war on hand, while Napoleon was invading Russia, so he offered to act as

mediator, and John Quincy Adams, the American Minister at St. Petersburgh, informed Madison of these amiable intentions. The President appointed Adams, Gallatin and Senator Bayard of Delaware, an able and patriotic Federalist, Commissioners to negotiate a treaty if it could be brought about. Their instructions regarding impressment read: "If this encroachment is not provided against, the United States has appealed to arms in vain. If your efforts to accomplish it should fail, all further negotiation will cease, and you will return home without delay." On arriving in St. Petersburg (July, 1813) they learned that Great Britain refused to arbitrate. She preferred to treat directly with the United States and after a time sent a proposal to that effect to the President, who promptly appointed a new Commission, consisting of Adams, Bayard, Clay, Gallatin and Jonathan Russell, Minister to Sweden. They met in June, 1814, at Ghent, in the Netherlands. So diverse were they in character that it was about as difficult for them to agree among themselves as with the English envoys; especially John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay. The cold New Englander and the fiery Kentuckian, the Puritan who felt that to sit after dinner over the wine and cigars was a waste of time from more serious pursuits, and the genial Westerner who played cards all night. They were alike only in patriotism, courage and a hot temper. "Each of us," wrote Adams, "takes a separate and distinct view of the subject-matter, and each naturally thinks his own view of it the most important." But fortunately all discordant elements were adjusted by the patience, ability and tact of Albert Gallatin. Early in August, negotiations began by the following demands presented by the English envoys: All the country, now comprising Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin, the larger part of Indiana, and about

one-third of Ohio to be set apart for the Indians, to serve as a "buffer" — a perpetual protection of the British possessions against American ambition. America to keep no armed vessels on the great lakes. A slice of the State of Maine to be ceded, in order that a road might be made from Halifax to Quebec. And the English to be allowed the right of free navigation on the Mississippi. These humiliating demands were at once rejected and the Americans prepared to return home. Their firmness alarmed the English Ministry, which did not wish to continue the war, although the fall of Napoleon had placed a great number of troops at liberty. Their people were tired of war and burdened by war taxes; furthermore, there was the disquieting remembrance of the Russian Emperor's friendly interest in the United States; perchance he might be inclined again to assist them; assuredly peace was desirable. The English envoys were instructed to resume negotiations. After five weary months of debate the Treaty of Ghent was signed December 24, 1814. By its provisions all things were to be restored as they were before the war, and the questions of search and impressment were not mentioned. Carl Schurz says: "The Orders in Council furnished the principal cause of the war. That cause happened to disappear at the same time that the war was declared. Hostilities were continued on a secondary issue. But when peace was made, neither the one nor the other was by so much as a single word alluded to in the treaty. To cap the climax, the principal battle of the war...was fought after the peace had been signed. The American Commissioners, with no decisive victories on their side to boast of, with no well organized armies to support their pretensions, with no national ships on the high seas, with the capture of Washington, the burning of the Capitol, and the hurried flight of the

President still a favorite theme of jest at the dinner tables and in the clubs all over Europe, they had to confront the representatives of the haughtiest, and, in some respects, the strongest power on earth. And they dislodged them from position after position until finally they accepted a treaty which stood in strange contrast to their original attitude."

Their labors finished, the Commissioners separated. Gallatin was made Minister to France and Adams Minister to England, while Clay, after his return home, was elected to Congress and in December, 1816, was again chosen Speaker of the House.

An intense opposition to the war had been manifested by New England. Her commercial interests were seriously affected and her unprotected sea-coast exposed to constant danger of attack. This bitterness and discontent culminated in the Hartford Convention, which was a meeting of Federalist delegates from every New England State. The Republicans claimed that it was the intention of this Assembly either to negotiate a separate treaty of peace with England, or else to withdraw New England from the Union and unite with Canada. These charges were never proven, and the address, issued by the Convention (January 4, 1815), after a secret session of three weeks, affords no excuse for such statements, being simply an appeal to the States for united action in obtaining certain governmental changes and reforms. But so deep was the resentment against their *suspected* designs that it proved the political extinction of every man connected with it. The Hartford Convention was a term of reproach to be cast at New England Federalists for many years thereafter, while the Republicans gained the prestige of superior patriotism.

The Treaty of Peace was received with joy in America

and the nation prepared to mend its broken fortunes. There was a large war debt. In January, 1816, the public debt of the United States was $127,335,000, but it decreased steadily and within twenty years the Government did not owe one dollar.

The Republicans having become convinced of their mistake in destroying the bank, Congress chartered another Bank of the United States, with a capital of $35,000,000, of which the Government took $7,000,000. The charter was limited to twenty years. The bank was opened in Philadelphia in 1816, and soon had branches established in all the large cities.

In the first year of the war the Territory of Orleans had been admitted into the Union as the State of Louisiana; the territory of that name being thereafter called Missouri.

Madison's administration closed happily. The country enjoyed a peace more secure than it had ever known. The bitterness of party strife was for the present quieted. "There should be no difference of parties," remarked Josiah Quincy, "for the Republicans have out-Federalized Federalism."

CHAPTER XIII

PRESIDENCY OF JAMES MONROE

James Monroe, who was inaugurated President of the United States March 4, 1817, was another distinguished son of Virginia. He left the College of William and Mary to enter the Revolutionary Army, becoming at twenty a staff-officer with the rank of Major. Washington wrote that he was a brave, active and sensible officer, which he had proved in the Battles of White Plains, Trenton, Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth. On leaving the army, he studied law and served in the legislature of his own State and in the Congress of the Confederation. Monroe was an early and life-long friend of Jefferson and Madison, but notwithstanding his intimacy with the "Father of the Constitution," he was an Anti-Federalist and, with Patrick Henry, opposed the adoption of the Constitution, though finally assenting, on condition that it be accepted with the addition of a Bill of Rights. In December, 1790, he took his seat in the United States Senate serving three years. During that time he united with Jefferson and Madison in opposition to Hamilton. As he had not hesitated to oppose the administration, it was a surprise to himself and others when Washington appointed him Minister to France in 1794. This young diplomatist, placed amid scenes of extraordinary excitement, filled with enthusiasm by the talk of liberty and flattered by the ardent welcome ex-

tended to him as the representative of a sister Republic, exceeded his instructions. He displayed an interest and sympathy that led to expectations which the United States was unwilling to gratify, for strict neutrality was Washington's wise policy. He was recalled and on his return attempted to justify his course in a pamphlet called "View of the Conduct of the Executive." In the newspaper war that followed, Federalists and Republicans, after the manner of the day, indulged in intense abuse. During Jefferson's administration, he was again sent on a diplomatic mission to France, which resulted in "the greatest real estate transaction ever known," the purchase of Louisiana, and drew from Napoleon the prophecy: "I have given England a maritime rival, which will, sooner or later, humble her pride." Monroe was unsuccessful in London, for with Pinckney he negotiated the treaty that Jefferson pigeon-holed, but as Madison's Secretary of State he won general approval.

In the Electoral College, he received 183 votes, while Rufus King, the Federalist, received 34. Daniel D. Tompkins, Governor of New York, was made Vice-President. Monroe was a frank, generous man of unsullied honor, not brilliant, but painstaking, industrious and conscientious. His administration of eight years was called the "Era of Good Feeling." When he was re-elected for a second term, he received every vote in the Electoral College but one, that being cast by a New Hampshire delegate because, it is said, he did not wish any other man to receive the same honor as Washington.

It was a time of peace abroad and prosperity at home, excepting for the financial depression of 1819, which was due to over-trading and reckless banking. In Kentucky alone, the Legislature of 1817 had chartered thirty-nine new banks, although there was a state bank, with four-

teen branches already existing. The usual results followed — depreciated and worthless bank notes, a rise in prices and a disturbance of credit. In the midst of these evils, suspicion was aroused by the conduct of the United States Bank and Congress ordered an investigation, which disclosed corruption and breach of trust. Failures and business depression followed, but the bank was reorganized on a sound basis and under a management of undoubted honesty its usefulness for the future was assured.

Monroe, shortly after his inauguration, made a tour through the Eastern States visiting the principal cities and going as far as Portland; returning, he passed through the northern tier of States westward to Detroit and back again, by way of Pittsburgh, to Washington. Two years later he visited the South and West. He was the first President since Washington to go among the people and his journeys were a triumphal progress, the greatest enthusiasm being everywhere displayed and men of all parties uniting to do him honor. The old party lines began to fade; there were left but few extremists in either camp; but the great struggle yet to come was foreshadowed in Monroe's administration by the "Missouri Compromise."

The adoption of the Constitution was only secured by compromises between the Northern and Southern States in regard to slavery and at the time it was generally thought that the institution would gradually disappear. This expectation was not realized owing to two causes — the purchase of Louisiana and the invention of the cotton-gin. By the former was added an immense domain in which it was possible to extend slavery. Before that, owing to the Ordinance of 1787 and the sentiment of the North, slavery was limited to the Southern States. By the invention of the cotton-gin a tremendous impulse was given

to the raising of cotton, with the consequent necessity for slave labor and Virginia, whose rather exhausted soil was not so well adapted as formerly for agriculture, was tempted to enter into the profitable business of breeding negroes for the slave marts of the far South.

The cotton-gin was invented by Eli Whitney and it is interesting to know something of a man whose inventive genius was responsible for such tremendous results. He was a native of Massachusetts, his father being a small farmer, who increased his meagre income by making, during the winter, wheels and chairs. In his father's workshop Eli early displayed that ingenuity and mechanical skill which were to make him famous. He determined to obtain a liberal education, but was not able to enter Yale until he was twenty-three years old and then had to work his way through. On leaving college in 1792 he went South, to become a tutor, and on the journey had the good fortune to make the acquaintance of the widow of General Nathaniel Green. On arriving at Savannah he was ill and Mrs. Green kindly invited him to her home. As a result of this delay he lost his engagement, and his hostess offered him the position of tutor to her own children which he gladly accepted. Noticing the tambour or frame which held Mrs. Green's embroidery, he made one of greatly improved design, and also delighted the children with several ingenious toys. On an occasion soon after, a number of planters who were Mrs. Green's guests, were discussing the depressed state of agriculture, which was owing to the unprofitable culture of cotton, caused by the cost of separating the seed from the fibre. "Gentlemen," said Mrs. Green, "apply to my young friend, Mr. Whitney. *He* can make anything." She then showed them his devices and in the conversation that followed the young man remarked that he had never

seen cotton nor cotton-seed in his life. Nevertheless, he obtained the bolls, shut himself up in a basement room and worked out his experiments in secret, — it would have been well had he continued the secrecy. But a machine being finished, a number of southern gentlemen were invited to view it and to their delighted amazement, saw that one man could, in a single day, free from the seed as much cotton as fifteen or twenty men could by hand.

Mrs. Green having married Mr. Phineas Miller who, like Whitney, was a Yale man and a former tutor to her children, a partnership was formed, Mr. Miller supplying the needed funds. But unfortunately the fame of the invention had been noised abroad; the building that held it was broken open in the night and the precious machine carried off. As a consequence, the firm of Miller and Whitney for years fought infringements of patents until they were ruined. Miller died poor and embarrassed, and Whitney would have shared a like fate had he not turned his inventive genius to other uses, and by his improvement of fire-arms finally won a competency.

The reason for the South's desire to maintain slavery and to gain an extension of slave territory is plainly evident. Cotton was fast becoming king, their wealth depended upon that product and the negro labor thought necessary for its culture. Schouler makes this plea for them: "The Union had never said to a State: 'Emancipate, and we will indemnify you,' but, 'Emancipate, and bear your own loss.' There was a southern conscience, nevertheless, the dread of an unshared impoverishment, in order to please mankind, stifled its voice."

The balance of free and slave States had been maintained by admitting two States, one of each class, at the same time, as, for instance, Vermont and Kentucky, Indi-

ana and Mississippi, Illinois and Alabama. But this equilibrium was about to be disturbed, for in December, 1818, Missouri applied to Congress for permission to form a state government. Louisiana had been the only State as yet admitted formed from the purchased territory, and as slavery was already established there when it came into possession of the United States the fact was accepted quietly; but now the people were called to face a grave responsibility. Were Missouri to be admitted into the Union with a Constitution recognizing slavery, it would open to its future extension a great domain, larger than the original thirteen States. There had been no serious agitation of the question since 1808, when the importation of slaves was abolished; but now the North awoke. In Congress there were heated debates but the only result was a bill that passed both Houses, establishing a separate territorial government for the southern part of Missouri, to be known as the Territory of Arkansas. When Congress adjourned the country was greatly excited over the pending question; the press teemed with it; mass-meetings were held and anti-slavery societies sprang into life. Later, legislatures of northern States passed resolutions opposing an extension of slavery. This feeling soon took a political turn and southern Republicans saw with dismay their adherents at the North joining with the remnants of Federalism and a new issue arising that threatened disaster to the Republican party. The instinct of self-preservation united the Southerners, and their legislatures followed suit and passed resolutions which deplored restrictions by Congress as the condition of Missouri's admittance. "Would force be used," it was asked, "to compel Missouri to emancipate? If so, the South would make her cause, which was the cause of self-government, their own, and fight with her." The

North did not propose to interfere with slavery in any State where it then existed, as all that territory, except Louisiana, was included in the original thirteen States which had adopted the Constitution. But Congress had the right over acquired territory to extend the principles of the Ordinance of 1787 and to insist on any conditions as a stipulation of statehood, which were compatible with the rights guaranteed by the Constitution. Congress has in recent years exercised this right by refusing to admit Utah until polygamy was abolished.

Notwithstanding the heavy penalties the foreign traffic in negroes continued and Congress, by an act passed in 1819, authorized the Government to employ naval vessels for the capture of slave ships on the coasts of Africa and America. A writer well expresses the northern sentiment when he says: "Pricked at the conscience by the late revelation that a traffic forbidden by law and denounced by the Christian world had been secretly revived to stock the southwestern country with laborers; alarmed at the defiant tone which slaveholders had assumed in the recent debates; shamed that recreant America should stand forth, amid the jeers of monarchies, holding in one hand the Charter of Independence, with the other brandishing a whip over the back of a negro, — the North, shaking off the bonds of slumber, forbade, in a voice of thunder, the further advance of slavery into the national domain."

On the meeting of the sixteenth Congress, in December, 1819, the Missouri contest was at once renewed; but there was now a new phase that appeared to simplify matters. The legislature of Massachusetts had passed an act of separation from Maine, on condition that Congress, prior to March 4, 1820, accepted Maine as an independent State. This would restore the old balance,

Maine joining the Union as a free State and Missouri as a slave State and on the same day, December 8, 1819, they both applied to Congress for admission. But this plan did not satisfy the aroused conscience of the North and the struggle began. The Maine Bill promptly passed the House and went to the Senate. The Senate referred it to a committee and it was reported back with an amendment, made by taking a wafer and with it fastening a bill to admit Missouri, without restriction as to slavery, to the bill to admit Maine. An effort was made to separate the bills. Finding that they could not part them, the minority struggled to amend the Missouri Bill by a clause that any further introduction of slaves into that State should be absolutely forbidden. A great debate followed and at the same time the House was becoming heated over the Missouri Bill. In both Houses excited crowds watched the contest, and many ladies who attended, being friends of members, were accorded the courtesy of a seat on the floor. John Randolph, in the course of a House debate, shook his finger at the fair listeners and said, in his shrill voice: "Mr. Speaker, what, pray, are all these women doing here, so out of place in this arena? Sir, they had much better be at home, attending to their knitting."

During this debate, Clay had little to say. The southern contingent in both Houses always voted together. As the limit of time approached for the admission of Maine, northern members became anxious, for Massachusetts had not been over-pleased at dismemberment; as for the southern members, they saw with alarm the anti-slavery attitude of northern Republicans. The time was ripe for compromise, when Senator Thomas, of Illinois, moved that in the tract of country ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, in all

the territory north of 36° 30′ north latitude, except so much as was to be included in Missouri, there should be no slavery. This was finally passed in the Senate as an amendment to the Missouri Bill, the bill itself being tacked to the Maine Bill as an amendment. It was thus sent to the House. That body stripped the Missouri rider from the Maine Bill, voted down the Thomas amendment to the Missouri Bill by a large majority, and returned to the consideration of its own bill to admit Missouri. Then the House sent their Missouri Bill to the Senate, with an amendment offered by John W. Taylor, of New York. This forbade further slavery in Missouri, though not freeing slaves already in servitude. The Senate, within twenty-four hours, returned the bill, with Taylor's amendment cut off and Thomas's tacked on in its place. The Senate would not recede; the House stood firm. Finally, the Senate proposed a Conference, which resulted in three recommendations; these were: the Senate should give up the attempt to unite the Maine and Missouri Bills in one and should vote to admit Maine; the House should no longer insist on the exclusion of slavery from Missouri; and both Houses should agree to pass the Missouri Senate Bill, with the Thomas amendment, whereby slavery was permitted in that state, but shut out from all the rest of the Louisiana territory north of the parallel of 36° 30′. It was hard to yield, but the House passed the Senate Bill March 2, 1820, and the Senate, on March 3d, passed the Maine Bill, which was signed on the same day by the President. Of the eighteen northern men, whose votes or intentional absence from the House rendered the Missouri Compromise possible, fifteen came from States whose legislatures had solemnly protested against the admission of Missouri as a slave State and those eighteen men John Randolph, during a

debate, called "dough-faces"; a name which for over forty years was to designate the northern man with southern principles.

Thus, after a winter of debate, was accomplished, by the aid of northern men, the Missouri Compromise and the United States thereupon entered that conflict which Horace Greeley has called "the Record of a Nation's Struggle up from Darkness and Bondage to Light and Liberty."

The most important event of Monroe's administration, aside from the Missouri Compromise, was that declaration of principles which is known as the Monroe Doctrine. President Gilman in his biography says: "I do not suppose he regarded this announcement as his own... It was because he pronounced not only the opinion then prevalent, but a tradition of other days, which had been gradually expanded and to which the country was wonted, that his words carried with them the sanction of public law. A careful examination of the writings of the earlier statesmen of the Republic will illustrate the growth of the Monroe Doctrine as an idea dimly entertained at first, but steadily developed by the course of public events and the reflection of those in public life." This is perfectly true, but the credit for formulating and applying these ideas belongs to Monroe and his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams.

By this time many of the South American countries had succeeded in throwing off the yoke of Spain and their efforts for independence had been watched with sympathy by the United States. These weak, struggling Republics were now threatened by the Holy Alliance which, successful in Europe, planned to intervene in the New World in behalf of the restoration of Spanish sovereignty. Monroe's annual message to Congress, Decem-

ber 2, 1823, contained the famous declaration in these words: "The occasion has been judged proper for asserting as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American Continents, by the free and independent conditions which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power." Again: "We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers to declare that *we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.* With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments which have declared their independence and maintained it and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the *manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States.*" And finally: "Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers;...to cultivate friendly relations with all and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm and manly policy; meeting, in all instances, the just claims of every power, submitting to injuries from none." That is the original text of the Monroe Doctrine. Briefly stated, it asserts that the United States will not interfere in European affairs, but will oppose the invasion by any European power of the territorial and political rights of

the independent States of North and South America. This policy, so quietly announced, has had the desired effect. During the Civil War, Napoleon III. placed Maximilian upon the throne of Mexico, but as soon as the United States was at liberty to look after its neighbor's affairs that Empire collapsed.

Monroe's appointment of John Quincy Adams as Secretary of State, was most fortunate and equally fortunate was that of Richard Rush as Minister at the English Court. Rush was a man of ability and culture, whose uprightness of character and charm of manner made him very popular in England, although he was always a thorough-paced American.

Negotiations were commenced with Spain, for the purpose of obtaining Florida, as the weakness of Spanish rule in that Peninsula was a constant menace to the United States. The Seminole Indians there sought shelter, and aided by runaway slaves and white adventurers, made hostile raids into the territory of the United States. Determined to end these depredations, the Government sent a force, under General Jackson, to southern Georgia. Jackson was given permission to enter Florida in pursuit of the foe, but on no account was he to molest a Spanish post, for the Government was at peace with Spain and would have refrained from an invasion of her territory had she been able herself to restore order. Jackson, however, proceeded to act on his own responsibility. He not only invaded Florida and destroyed the power of the Seminoles, but he arrested two Englishmen, tried them on the charge of stirring up the Indians to war against the United States, and promptly had one shot and the other hung. He then proceeded to Pensacola, the strongest post in Florida, captured the fort and having seen its indignant Commander set sail for Havana, he left an

American garrison in charge and returned with his main army to the United States. This extraordinary conclusion of the Seminole War caused great excitement. Spain naturally resented such high-handed measures, and England was indignant that two of her subjects, however worthless, should have been executed upon doubtful evidence. The Government disavowed Jackson's unauthorized proceedings, and restored the captured fort to Spain, while clever diplomacy on the part of Adams and Rush smoothed out matters abroad. A treaty with Spain was finally ratified in 1821, by which the United States received all of Florida, under an arrangement that cost her about $5,000,000. Jackson's conduct was made the subject of inquiry by Congress. A vote to censure him was tabled in the Senate and the House sustained him, notwithstanding that Clay made a brilliant speech in opposition. Jackson was now more popular than ever. The people had wanted Florida annexed, they were not particular as to the manner in which it was obtained, and Jackson's broad interpretation of the "military discretion reposed in him" was deemed sufficient justification by his admirers. In April, 1821, he was made Governor of the new territory of Florida, but his arbitrary conduct soon embroiled him with the former authorities and to Monroe's relief he resigned his position.

On the northwest Pacific coast a settlement had been planted, near the mouth of the Columbia River, known as Astoria, so named for John Jacob Astor of New York, whose money had fitted out the expedition. The place was intended to be the headquarters of the Pacific Fur Company which Astor had founded. The United States had gained this northwest corner of the country by right of discovery and settlement. During the War of 1812, Astoria fell into the hands of the English, but

was restored in 1818 in accordance with the Treaty of Ghent.

About this time, England and America were discussing the vexed question of the boundary between British America and the United States. Stratford Canning was the British Minister at Washington. He is better known as Lord Stratford de Redclyffe, that dictatorial, imperious English Minister at Constantinople during the Crimean War, who imposed his mandates on the Sultan and saw to it that they were obeyed. As Adams' temper and firmness were of the same quality, the interviews between the two men, as noted at the time in Adams' diary, are very amusing. Here is a specimen. An allusion had been made to the Shetland Islands. "Have you," said Mr. Canning, "any claim to the Shetland Islands?" "Have you any claim," I said, "to the mouth of the Columbia River?" "Why, do you not know," replied he, "that we have a claim?" "I do not know," said I, "what you claim, nor what you do not claim. You claim India; you claim Africa; you claim" — "Perhaps," said he, "a piece of the moon." "No," said I, "I have not heard that you claim exclusively any part of the moon; but there is not a spot on *this* habitable globe that I could affirm you do not claim." These agreeable interviews, however, resulted happily for the nation.

During Monroe's administration the so-called "American system," which Clay advocated so strongly, became a prominent political issue and in the debates over a protective tariff and internal improvements, we see the germ of a new political party. The South had, at first, favored protection because she wished northern mills to take her cotton, but now that the English market was open to her she was opposed. As for the farmers and shippers they said: "We should rejoice to see home manufactures

established, provided they grew up naturally and spontaneously, but not by levying an unequal tax to enrich the rich by fostering high bounties which favor capital at the cost of individual labor." The Protectionists replied: "A home market is essential to the prosperity of a nation like ours. Flooded by excessive imports and drained of specie, our trade will drift to ruin. If commerce be favored by Congress, so can manufactures." Protection ideas steadily gained and a new bill passed Congress in 1824. As for internal improvements the advantage was patent to all. The only question was the advisability of having the Government instead of the states undertake the building of roads and canals. The usual cry, "unconstitutional," was raised and Monroe, on that ground, vetoed a bill to establish toll-gates on the Cumberland road, but at the same time advised an amendment to the Constitution granting express powers to the Government for such undertakings. The liberal constructionists, however, found ample authority in the Constitution, which granted to the general Government the right to establish post-roads, to regulate commerce between the several States, and to provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States. It was agreed that a road passing through several States was for the benefit of the general public and should be paid for by the nation. For many years internal improvements was a theme for political agitation, until the railroad thrust its importance aside. The Cumberland Road played an important part in politics. This became known as the National Road and was built from Cumberland in Maryland to Wheeling on the Ohio, at a cost of $1,800,000. It averaged 80 feet in width and was paved with stone covered with gravel; strong stone arches supported it over streams and ravines and in places it was carried through

cuts in the mountains. It was the highway to the great West, over which traveled thousands of immigrants seeking a home in the new Western World and long lines of laden vans, bringing to the East the produce of the West. Henry Clay eloquently pictured the National Road advancing with civilization to the Mississippi, and "still westward and whithersoever the white man's face should seek the setting sun."

1824 was the year of the Presidential election, which was an unusual campaign. There were no well-defined parties contending for supremacy, nor any important questions to be determined by the result; it was a purely personal and factional contest and consequently most ignoble. The people rallied to the support not of principles but of favorite candidates, the most prominent of these being John Quincy Adams, John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, Andrew Jackson and William Harris Crawford. Three of these men were members of the Cabinet, Adams being Secretary of State, Calhoun Secretary of War, and Crawford Secretary of the Treasury. The last was a southern man and an ambitious, scheming politician.

Calhoun, South Carolina's greatest son, a graduate of Yale, a lawyer by profession, one of the "War-Hawks" in the Congress of 1812 and a Cabinet officer, was destined to be the future leader of a hapless cause, the embodiment of the pro-slavery idea. Von Holst thus views him: "A man endowed with an intellect far above the average, impelled by a high-soaring ambition, untainted by any petty or ignoble passion and guided by a character of sterling firmness and more than common purity, yet, with fatal illusion, devoting all his mental powers, all his moral energy and the whole force of his iron will to the service of a doomed and unholy cause." But as

yet he had not entered upon that downward course and is described as most amiable, with engaging manners and an attractive face.

Jackson was brought forward as the "people's candidate," and his entrance into the Presidential race marks a new political departure.

Any description of the intrigues and political combinations that marked the course of this canvass would be most wearisome. There was great excitement throughout the country, but fortunately the arrival of Lafayette and his tour through the country silenced for a time the contention, while all united to pay sincere reverence and affection to the great and good Marquis.

As the election approached, the candidates and their friends were in close communication and new combinations were eagerly sought. But Adams' honesty prevented any intriguing on his part. Mr. Morse says of him: "Since the days of Washington he alone presented the singular spectacle of a candidate deliberately taking the position, and in a long campaign really never flinching from it, 'that if the people wish me to be President, I shall not refuse the office; but I ask nothing from any man, or from any body of men.'"

When the votes were counted in the Electoral College, they stood: Jackson, 99; Adams, 84; Crawford, 41; Clay, 37; 261 in all. Calhoun was elected Vice-President by 182 votes.

The Constitution provides that "the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed." If no candidate has this majority, the contest is thrown into the House of Representatives. The three persons having the highest number of votes are there balloted for, the ballot to be taken by

States, each State having one vote. The names of Jackson, Adams and Crawford therefore went to the House and intrigue was stimulated afresh. Clay, no longer a candidate, became a power, for it rested with him to use his influence and decide the result. A stroke of paralysis had completely disabled Crawford so that the contest narrowed to Adams and Jackson. Clay did not hesitate. He disliked Jackson, had wished him censured for the Florida campaign and had spoken against him in plain terms. The election was held January 9, 1825, and on the first ballot John Quincy Adams was declared President, having received thirteen votes. Seven votes were cast for Jackson and four for Crawford.

Monroe's administration was one of the most serene, dignified and successful in the history of the country and was unique, inasmuch as parties had disappeared. All were Republicans, or more truly — all were Americans.

CHAPTER XIV

PRESIDENCY OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

JOHN ADAMS and John Quincy Adams, father and son, are remarkable figures in the political history of the United States. They stand like huge granite boulders on a storm-beaten coast, which no fury of the tempest can move from their firm foundations. Statesmen and patriots, men of rigid honesty and of unsullied honor, they both after long and faithful public service, received the highest honor the nation could bestow, only to retire bitterly disappointed and humiliated, from administrations advantageous to their country but full of storm and stress. Both stood unshaken to the end amid the seething waters of hostile faction.

John Quincy Adams was the last link that held the Government to the Revolutionary past, for as a lad he had listened to the guns of Bunker's Hill, and when eleven years old had accompanied his father on a diplomatic mission to France. We can judge of what manner of child he was by a letter written to his mother upon his arrival at Passy:

"Honored Mamma: My Pappa enjoins it upon me to keep a journal, or a diary, of the events that happen to me, and of objects that I see, and of characters that I converse with from day to day; and although I am convinced of the utility, importance and necessity of this Exercise, yet I have not patience and perseverance enough to do it so constantly as I ought. My Pappa,

who takes a great deal of pains to put me in the right way, has also advised me to Preserve Copies of all my letters, and has given me a convenient Blank Book for this end; and although I shall have the mortification a few years hence to read a great deal of my Childish nonsense, yet I shall have the Pleasure and advantage of Remarking the several steps by which I shall have advanced in taste, judgment and knowledge. A Journal Book and a letter Book of a Lad of Eleven years old Can not be expected to Contain much of Science, Literature, art, wisdom, or wit, yet it may serve to perpetuate many observations that I may make and may hereafter help me to recollect both persons and things that would other ways escape my memory." It has been truly said that this "mature youngster" "had only a little of the prig and nothing of the hypocrite in his nature. He was the outcome of many generations of simple, devout, intelligent, Puritan ancestors, living in a community which loved virtue and sought knowledge."

This diary was continued irregularly for sixteen years, but from that date (1795) it was faithfully kept until the end of his life. It is one of the most valuable diaries in the world, for in the pages of its many volumes is pictured every man then prominent in the United States, and they are dealt with in the stern, cold spirit of the writer. But if Adams was severe with others, he was equally so with himself and we learn to know the man from the pages of his journal as few men are known to the world. He was firm, courageous, honorable, of unswerving political honesty and of persistent industry; but, outside the home circle, he was cold and reserved of manner, lacking in tact and social smoothness. It has been remarked: "Never did a man of pure life and just purposes have fewer friends or more enemies than John

Quincy Adams... He was one of the most lonely and desolate of the great men of history." Adams began to serve his country in his early youth, for he was but fourteen years old when he attended Francis Dana as private secretary on his mission as envoy from the United States to Russia.

John Adams having been appointed Minister at the Court of St. James, John Quincy decided to return to America and enter Harvard College. Thus, after seven years of foreign schools and foreign travel, he deliberately resigned the pleasures of London society, to return to the quiet of Cambridge and the restrictions of a college life, because he desired to prepare himself "to earn his own living in an honorable manner." On graduating he studied law, but his political writings attracting attention, Washington appointed him Minister at The Hague. He returned to America when Jefferson became President, and, in 1803, was appointed to represent Massachusetts in the United States Senate. John Adams was bitterly hated by his party and his son received a cold reception. He describes in the diary how every measure that he proposed was voted down, but afterward substantially the same matter, put by another, would be carried; if he wished a measure success, he must induce some other to propose it and he remarks: "A desperate and fearful cause in which I have embarked, but I must pursue it or feel myself either a coward or a traitor." The Adamses were good fighters! Three years passed before his sterling qualities and great abilities forced respectful attention and gave him the prominence he merited. Like his father, he dared to be independent of party and when the embargo was laid he voted with the Republicans, for he burned with indignation at British aggressions and was out of sympathy with the British

drift of Federalism. For this he was abused and despised by the Federalists, who declared him a traitor to his party, as his father had been before him, and in consequence he lost his seat in the Senate. Adams acted honestly and courageously in joining the Republicans and the whole country was, in course of time, to follow him. Federalism had done a great and noble work, but conditions had changed; a *new* political creed was needed.

Madison, in 1809, appointed John Quincy Adams the first minister from the United States to Russia, and it was then that the negotiations began, which resulted in the Treaty of Ghent. As Monroe's Secretary of State he most satisfactorily conducted the affairs of the foreign office, and now, as President of the United States, we are to read another page of his stormy life.

He was inaugurated March 4, 1825, and at once confronted the angry forces of his defeated opponent. Those who recall the Hayes-Tilden contested election will appreciate the situation. They will recollect that during the four years of Hayes' administration, the New York *Sun* never mentioned him except as the "fraudulent" President, and the Jackson men now assumed the same attitude. Their position was unjustifiable, for the action of Congress was strictly constitutional. If the framers of the Constitution had intended that the candidate having the greatest number of votes in the Electoral College must necessarily be chosen, then a plurality vote would have decided the question; there would have been no reference to a majority, or the decision of the House.

The first act of the new administration was a stupendous political blunder. Adams appointed, as Secre-

tary of State, Henry Clay, a man eminently fitted for the position, but the one whose influence had made him President. Neither heeded a previous intimation. During the campaign an anonymous newspaper letter, since known to have been dictated by the Jackson faction, had charged Clay with selling his friends in the House of Representatives to Mr. Adams "as the planter sells his negroes, or the farmer his team and horses." Clay publicly declared the writer "a base and infamous calumniator, a dastard and a liar." He demanded an investigation by the House, but the base author, a fellow Congressman, refused to appear before the Committee, and it was supposed the charge was laid at rest. But a lie has astonishing vitality. It has been proved beyond the possibility of doubt that there never was the slightest truth in this infamous accusation. But the moment Clay accepted the portfolio of state, there was a plausible pretext for its revival. One writer remarks: "Never was lash put more foolishly into an enemy's hands, or used by that enemy with greater effect. The charge of corrupt bargain had only to be made and repeated to produce an overwhelming effect." A strange fatality that two men of proved political honesty should have been hounded by such a charge.

The first mutterings of the storm were heard when the President's appointments were sent to the Senate. Clay's name, though confirmed, received fifteen negative votes, and it was evident that the South had combined with the Jackson men and that their united forces would be able to seriously embarrass the administration. Among the names favorably acted upon were Richard Rush for Secretary of the Treasury, and for Minister to England Rufus King. Ill health, however, soon compelled King to resign, and Albert Gallatin became his successor.

During the four years of Adams' administration the country advanced rapidly in growth and prosperity. Clay proved a progressive Secretary of State, and treaties of commerce were concluded with Central America, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, Brazil, and the Hanseatic Republics. The disputed award by Great Britain for slaves carried off during the War of 1812 was brought to a successful issue and the money paid in 1827. As Canada was a safe haven for the fleeing slave who gained, after a long and perilous flight, its friendly shelter, Congress requested the President to open negotiations with Great Britain regarding the surrender of these fugitives. To induce a favorable reply, it was proposed that a mutual return be also made of deserters from the military, naval and merchant service. It is to the lasting honor of England that the British Government promptly replied: "It was utterly impossible for them to agree to a stipulation for the surrender of fugitive slaves." A sorry figure the boasted "land of freedom" presents in this transaction.

July 4, 1826, was the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, and the event was celebrated throughout the land. On that day died Thomas Jefferson and, a few hours later, John Adams. This strange coincidence, their death upon the same day, and that day the golden jubilee of the Declaration, was beautifully touched upon by Daniel Webster in his oration delivered at the memorial service in Faneuil Hall: "The great epic of their lives how happily concluded! Poetry itself has hardly terminated illustrious lives and finished the career of earthly renown by such a consummation. It cannot but seem striking and extraordinary that these two should live to see the fiftieth year from the date of that act; that they should complete that year; and that

then on the day which had fast linked forever their own fame with their country's glory, the heavens should open to receive them both at once."

The orator of this occasion became a power during the administration of John Quincy Adams, and for the remainder of his life was a tremendous force in national politics. Mr. Lodge says of him: "Mr. Webster was thoroughly national... He towers up as an American, a citizen of the United States in the fullest sense of the word. He did not invent the Union or discover the doctrine of nationality. But he found the great fact and the great principle ready to his hand, and he lifted them up and preached the gospel of nationality throughout the length and breadth of the land. In his fidelity to this cause he never wavered or faltered. From the first burst of boyish oratory to the sleepless nights at Marshfield, when, waiting for death, he looked through the window at the light which showed him the national flag fluttering from its staff, his first thought was of a united country. He could hardly speak in public without an allusion to the grandeur of American nationality, and a fervent appeal to keep it sacred and intact. For fifty years with reiteration...he poured this message into the ears of a listening people. His words passed into text-books and became the first declamations of schoolboys. They were in every one's mouth. They sank into the hearts of the people and became unconsciously a part of their life and daily thought. When the hour came, it was love for the Union and the sentiment of nationality which nerved the arm of the North and sustained her courage. That love had been fostered and that sentiment had been strengthened and vivified by the life and words of Webster."

This great American was born in Salisbury, New

Hampshire. His father was a farmer and an assistant Justice, and for his early, humble home, Daniel Webster always cherished a loving reverence. His opportunities for education were meagre, and the lad often walked three miles over the snowy roads to attend school. When fourteen years of age he spent some months at Phillips' Academy at Exeter, and afterwards entered Dartmouth College. On leaving College, he taught school while studying law, like many another of New England's sons. Having been admitted to the bar, his great talents soon won recognition. He lived for nine years at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and represented his State in Congress. But notwithstanding his success, he withdrew from political life and returned to his practice, entering upon a wider field by removing to Boston. After an absence of six years he was returned to Congress as a Representative from that city, and after three years' service in the House took his seat in the Senate in 1827. He was in politics a broad Federalist, unlike his father, whose rigid Federalism led him, when taken ill away from home, to beg that he be taken to Salisbury because he explained: "I was born a Federalist, I have lived a Federalist, and I won't die in a Democratic town."

In Adams' administration Webster naturally joined the National Republicans and became the leader of the administration forces in Congress, where his assistance was most welcome. Always the amazing force and grandeur of Daniel Webster's personal presence awakened admiration. An English navvy pointed at him in the streets of Liverpool and said: "There goes a king"; and Sidney Smith exclaimed when he saw him: "He is a small Cathedral by himself." His eyes were remarkable; very dark and deep-set, and glowing with light as he became interested in his subject, his voice

full and musical, ringing out like a clarion and again sinking into deep notes like the solemn richness of organ tones. Lodge says: "He had the most extraordinary physical gifts of face, form and voice, and employed them to the best advantage. Thus equipped, he delivered a long series of great speeches, which can be read to-day with the deepest interest, instruction and pleasure... In the history of eloquence his name will stand with those of Demosthenes and Cicero, of Chatham and Burke."

John Quincy Adams, in his first annual message, proposed a vigorous policy of internal improvements; not only were roads and canals to be built and extended, but art, science and education were to receive support and encouragement from the national Government. This at once aroused opposition and provided an excellent opportunity for the Jackson faction to defeat administration measures. By 1827, both Houses of Congress, for the first time in the history of the United States, were arrayed against the administration, and every act favored by the executive met bitter opposition. Professor Sumner writes of Adams' Presidency: "There is not in our history any administration which upon a severe and impartial scrutiny appears more worthy of respectful and honorable memory. Its chief fault was that it was too good for the wicked world in which it found itself."

Adams made but two removals from the public service. both of these for cause, refusing on principle either to appoint friends or displace men already in office. A man who had urged a different course only to be answered by Adams "that he did not intend to make any removals" thus describes what followed: "I bowed respectfully and assured the President that I had no doubt the consequence would be that he would *himself* be removed so

soon as the term for which he had been elected had expired."

No sooner was the President inaugurated than the Jackson campaign began. In October, 1825, the legislature of Tennessee nominated Andrew Jackson for the Presidential candidate in 1828. United with the southern Republicans, Jackson's followers were now called Democrats, and the Adams and Clay men National Republicans. Martin Van Buren, Jackson's manager, was a trained politician of the Clinton school, for since the days of the Confederation, when George Clinton became the first great political "boss," New York had had the most perfect development of the "machine" in politics. Never before had there been, in a national contest, such a perfect organization of political machinery, and never was so violent and bitter a campaign known. As in the previous Presidential campaign, there was no question of principles or parties, but simply a personal preference for the President of 1829. The Democrats spread the charge of bargain and corruption through the length and breadth of the land. Shameful slanders were sent abroad regarding Adams and Clay, and in retaliation the facts of Jackson's irregular marriage, which had been laid at rest during thirty years, were dragged forth to fill Jackson with fury. Even Congress did little but abuse the administration; John Randolph would come upon the floor of the Senate excited by liquor and pour forth abusive tirades by the hour, while his theatrical mannerisms amused the galleries, where there was little concern that the decorum of the Senate was outraged as never before; Calhoun meanwhile sat like a statue in the President's chair, not attempting to stop him, for the Vice-President had ruled that a member could not be called to order by the Chair unless the initiative came

from a member on the floor, and Randolph took advantage of this license. Clay finally called General Jackson to account for statements regarding the "bargain and corruption" calumny, and proved beyond doubt the falsity of the charge. It was in vain, for to quote Carl Schurz: "Clay lived to appreciate the wonderful vitality of a well managed political lie... It defeated his dearest ambitions and darkened the rest of his public life. It kept him refuting and explaining, explaining and refuting, year after year; yet still thousands of simple-minded citizens would continue honestly to believe that Henry Clay was a great knave, who had defeated the will of the people by bargain and corruption and cheated the old hero of New Orleans out of his rights."

During a debate in Congress upon the confirmation of Commissioners, whom the President desired to send to the Congress of South American States about to meet at Panama, Randolph characterized the administration as a "combination of the Puritan and the blackleg." This allusion to Clay's card-playing threw Clay into a rage and he challenged Randolph. It was a bloodless duel, but Randolph had a bullet-hole in the skirt of his coat. After the exchange of shots, he remarked: "You owe me a coat, Mr. Clay," and Clay remarked, as they cordially shook hands: "I am glad the debt is no greater." And thus happily terminated what Senator Benton calls "the highest-toned duel he ever witnessed."

As the canvass progressed, it was evident that the man who secured the largest personal following would win. Adams could never be a popular leader; his cold self-respect would not permit him to practise any wiles by which he might win favor. He did not appeal to the popular fancy, but he had a loyal and harmonious

Cabinet, and Clay expressed sincere regard for him. In Jackson the people beheld "one of themselves." He was proclaimed "the people's candidate," and they liked this hot-headed soldier. In the election, Adams carried every New England State except one vote of Maine, and he received a part of the electoral vote of New York, New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland, but Jackson carried Pennsylvania, and south of the Potomac and west of the Alleghanies swept everything before him. He received in the Electoral College 178 votes, and Adams but 83. Calhoun was again elected Vice-President. It was significant that the Jackson movement was strongest where there were fewest schools. The shrewd, intelligent New Englanders, accustomed to discuss affairs of Government in town-meetings, were not affected by the Jackson campaign cries.

The parties had now drawn apart and were forming on definite lines. The National Republicans favored a liberal construction of the Constitution, a protective tariff and internal improvements by the general Government. The Democrats were opposed to all of these measures. As a state-rights party, they objected to the interference of Government, even to the extent of undertaking internal improvements, and in the South, their interests being strictly agricultural, they were opposed to a protective tariff and quick to resent any move against slavery. Through the North the Democratic party was the party of the masses, and the National Republicans represented more nearly the classes. At the head of the National Republicans stood Henry Clay, a born leader of men, — the "gallant Harry of the West," as his followers delighted to call him. He was not only a statesman, but an orator of whom it is said: "The whole man was a superior being while he spoke... It

was a physical delight to listen to the musical cadence of his voice, and one thrilled to the charm of his magnificent sun-bursts of enthusiasm, his winning persuasiveness."

John Quincy Adams went out of office, as had his father before him, a bitterly disappointed man. He wrote in his diary: "The sun of my political life sets in the deepest gloom." Could he have lifted the veil that concealed the future, he would have known, to quote a well-known writer, "the most brilliant and glorious years of his career were yet to be lived. He was to earn in his old age a noble fame and distinction, far transcending any achievement of his youth and middle age, and was to attain the highest pinnacle of his fame after he had left the greatest office of Government... It is a striking circumstance that the fulness of greatness for one who had been Senator, Minister to England, Secretary of State and President, remained to be won in the comparatively humble position of a Representative in Congress."

CHAPTER XV

PRESIDENCY OF ANDREW JACKSON

The inauguration of Andrew Jackson began a new epoch in the political history of the United States. He was the first man taken directly from the people and placed in the President's chair, the previous occupants having been scholarly and cultivated men, trained in statecraft and diplomacy. Jackson was born in North Carolina, but early became identified with Tennessee. He was an orphan-boy, very poor, obtained but little schooling and learned the trade of a saddler. He studied law and was made District Attorney, but did not practise very steadily, as we hear of him as store-keeper and planter. His courage and energy won a place for him in the rough border settlement of Nashville, and he was a member of the legislature that framed a Constitution for the State. In 1796, he was sent to the United States Senate; he was then thirty years old. To his disgrace be it said that he was one of the twelve men who refused to vote the address to Washington at the close of his administration. Remembering the type of government which he himself was destined to initiate, the spoils system and the demoralized civil service, we can at least admit consistency in his refusing to acknowledge the purity and statesmanship of that administration. One is amazed to hear that he became Judge of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, for he had a limited knowledge of law and could with diffi-

culty form an unbiased opinion if he had any personal relations with the parties. He began his military service in the state militia, and became finally a Major-General in the army of the United States. His victory at New Orleans made him a national hero, and he well deserved his fame, for the trained English army lost two thousand men, killed, wounded and missing, and Jackson's raw recruits but seven killed and six wounded. At the time he came to the Presidency he had recently lost his wife, to whom he had been a most devoted husband. He had a courtly bearing and a gentle manner with women and children. His patriotism, honesty and desire to serve the people are unquestioned, but he was a man of intense personality, of tremendous energy and of an undisciplined nature. He ruled as an autocrat; his party was the country; they who stood by him were friends of the country; those who opposed him were his enemies and their country's foes. He could not be impersonal; to agree with him was to win his favor; to oppose him was to excite his animosity. He was a warm friend and a tremendous foe. It may, perchance, be asked: "Did Jackson believe in the charge of 'bribery and corruption'?" He probably did; it was quite in keeping with his prejudices; Clay had opposed and thwarted him — he must necessarily be a very bad man, capable of any infamy. Jackson had an iron will and the genius to command, for he never hesitated to act and the passionate energy of his nature often seemed to compel success. He was immensely popular with the masses, who liked his rude energy, and they were always ready to shout "Hurrah for Jackson." They came in great numbers to see their hero inaugurated, and those who were present have left descriptions of the scene. We read of the motley rabble running helter-skelter through Pennsylvania Ave-

nue after the President, in an effort to gain earliest admittance to the Executive Mansion, where refreshments were to be served; of china and glass, to the value of several thousand dollars, broken in the struggle to obtain the cakes and ices; of men in muddy boots standing on the damask chairs and sofas; and of tubs of punch carried on to the lawn, in an effort to lessen the crowd in the house. Judge Story wrote: "The President was visited at the Palace" — as the White House was then called — "by immense crowds of all sorts of people, from the highest and most polished down to the most vulgar and gross in the nation. I never saw such a mixture. The reign of King Mob seemed triumphant."

Up to this date (1829) those holding office under Government had not been displaced except for incompetency or unfaithfulness. From Washington's taking office to Jackson but seventy-five removals had been made, but now it was announced that "a sweep was to be made in the departments and elsewhere of all who did not belong to the household of the faith." We of the present day, who are accustomed to this vicious system, can hardly appreciate the misery resulting from this political revolution. Most pathetic accounts are given of the prevailing anxiety and distress among those who had thought themselves secure for life upon the small but certain pay of a Government employee, but who now saw ruin before them, while those who were not displaced lived in constant dread of what a day might bring forth. It is estimated that two thousand changes were made in the civil service. Appointments were awarded for party services, a number of newspaper editors being thus compensated. The Senate refused to confirm many of the appointments, several names, from their manifest unfitness, being unanimously rejected.

Although Jackson first applied the spoils system to national politics, he did not originate it. In the party politics of New York and Pennsylvania was found the idea, and the party discipline that gave it force. Jackson admired the perfection of the Empire State Machine. "I am no politician," he would say, "but if I were one, I would be a New York politician." During a debate in the Senate, Senator Marcy, afterward Governor of New York, felt called upon to make the following declaration: "The politicians of the State of New York...boldly preach what they practise. When they are contending for victory, they avow their intention of enjoying the fruits of it. If they are successful, they claim, as a matter of right, the advantages of success. They see nothing wrong in the rule that to the *victor belongs the spoils of the enemy.*" It was an evil day for the nation when a member of the United States Senate proclaimed that the advantages to the party and the politician were to take precedence of the welfare and prosperity of the people and the highest good of the country. The nation had drifted a long way from the policy of its great moral leader — Washington.

Jackson appointed Martin Van Buren Secretary of State and John H. Eaton, a Senator from Tennessee, Secretary of War. The other members of the Cabinet were men of moderate ability. It has become customary for the President to consider his Cabinet as necessary counselors, but this is not obligatory. There is nothing in the Constitution that renders them other than heads of departments. Jackson chose to consider them more nearly in that position, but gathered about him four trusty friends as confidential advisers. These soon became known as the "Kitchen Cabinet." One of these men was Francis P. Blair, editor of the *Globe,* a bold and clever

politician, who made his newspaper a tremendous power; but the most noted was Amos Kendall, whose silent influence was recognized by all, but who rarely became visible, choosing to be a mysterious force, the power behind the throne. Jackson's official Cabinet was finally wrecked by a social question: "Shall we call upon Mrs. Eaton?"

The wife of John H. Eaton, Secretary of War, was the very beautiful daughter of William O'Neil, the proprietor of O'Neil's Inn, at Washington. This well-known hostelry was the resort of the famous men of the day, and "pretty Peggy O'Neil" had been a favorite toast with them. She married a naval officer named Timberlake, who committed suicide while on a cruise in the Mediterranean, and it was whispered that reports concerning his wife prompted the deed. To add to the gossip, within a year the widow married Senator Eaton, with whom her name had been scandalously associated. By her husband's position she was now introduced into the most exclusive circles, but Mrs. Calhoun refused to recognize her, and the ladies of the Cabinet circle followed suit. Here was a delicate situation, which Jackson attempted to deal with in his usual manner. He had known and admired Mrs. Eaton from her girlhood, and he felt a peculiar sympathy for any woman whose reputation was assailed, for he had fought duels in defense of that of his own wife. He endeavored to force society to receive Mrs. Eaton and was furious at his failure. He even threatened to send the Dutch Minister out of the country because his wife refused to sit beside Mrs. Eaton at a supper. Calhoun approved of his wife's course, and the married Cabinet officers each informed Jackson "that he left such matters to his wife and could not undertake to overrule her judgment." Jackson stormed and the

question was debated throughout the country and had strange political results, for it ultimately broke up the Cabinet. Eaton was made Governor of Florida and afterward Minister to Spain, and Van Buren was nominated as Minister to England, but defeated by Calhoun's vote, there being a tie in the Senate. Both Van Buren and Calhoun ardently desired the Presidency, and Calhoun appeared to lead in the race, but the Eaton affair changed the result. Van Buren was a widower and being thus free, ingratiated himself in Jackson's good-will by polite attentions to Mrs. Eaton, whereas Calhoun excited his resentment. This was taken advantage of by the "Kitchen Cabinet," who showed to Jackson a letter, written by William Harris Crawford, which divulged a secret calculated to enrage Jackson, for it revealed the fact that Calhoun, while a member of Monroe's Cabinet, had desired to have Jackson reprimanded for disobedience to orders in the Florida campaign. Crawford's treachery succeeded; Jackson was thrown into a towering passion by this revelation. He demanded an explanation, to which Calhoun replied that "it was an affair of mere official duty involving no question of private enmity or friendship." But with Jackson those who were not for him were against him. Calhoun, a bitterly disappointed man, saw the coveted prize snatched from his grasp and given to another, for it was evident that when Jackson was ready to vacate the Presidential chair, his all-powerful influence would be exerted to make Van Buren his successor. Many writers assert that disappointed ambition accounts for Calhoun's future course, believing that had he attained the Presidency he would never have been known as the "great Nullifier," but with this opinion Von Holst disagrees.

In 1828, during John Quincy Adams' administration, a tariff bill had been passed, which arose from the agita-

tion of the New England woolen manufacturers. There was a wild scramble among diverse industries all over the country to gain the highest possible protection. The southern members had voted for many clauses in the bill, hoping to defeat the measure by making it obnoxious. But it passed and became known as "the tariff of abominations." It was extremely unpopular in the South, especially in South Carolina, Calhoun's state. This discontent was made more serious by the strong state-rights feeling of that section, and nullification began to be preached as a sound political doctrine. Calhoun in several communications published his views upon the subject. He claimed that the sovereignty of the States is the essential principle of the Union; that the States have a *right* to interpose when the Federal Government usurps authority over them, because, as parties to the compact, they have the right to determine for themselves whether it has been violated; and, as a final conclusion, each State has a right to declare null and void a Federal law which it deems unconstitutional. All this was a step to the secession platform. Setting aside all consideration of the practical workings of this scheme of systematized anarchy, a brief glance at the principles involved will show them so easily refuted that the blindness of the men who upheld them seems remarkable, unless the baleful influence of slavery is recognized. The North and South had now become divided on a line of free and slave States, and the latter needed every argument, however specious, in defense of an unholy institution.

In the Constitutional Convention it had been decided, by a majority vote, that a Government should be established consisting of a supreme legislative, executive and judiciary. The word "supreme" was explained to mean the sovereign power of the national Government. If the

powers of a State clashed with the authority of the Government, the State must give way. The Constitution reaffirmed this decision, declaring itself and the laws made in pursuance thereof the supreme law of the land. The national government was not established by the States and cannot be set aside by the States; it is a Government of the people, for the people, and established by the people. The preamble to the Constitution reads: "We, the people of the United States...do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America," and the Constitution was ratified, not by the States acting through their State Governments, but by Conventions of delegates, elected directly by the people; the reason for this is explained in the *Federalist,* which says: "The Fabric of American Empire ought to rest on the solid basis of The Consent of the People."

In order that no combination of men should rule unlawfully, the Constitution established the Supreme Court, with power to set aside the acts of the legislative and executive branches of the Government, if such acts are in violation of the Constitution. The Constitutional laws of the Government must be upheld by the people, or else they must arise in rebellion and overthrow the Government they have created. As for the right of secession Madison had answered that question when, in the New York Convention, during the struggle over the adoption of the Constitution, that State had proposed to join conditionally, withdrawing afterward, if she saw fit. "No," said Madison; "a State which had once ratified was in the Federal bond forever. The Constitution did not provide for or contemplate its own overthrow. There could be no such thing as a Constitutional right of secession." Motley, the great historian, writes: "The Constitution of the United States was an organic law, enacted by the

sovereign people of the whole United States. It was empowered to act directly by its own legislative, judicial and executive machinery, upon every individual in the country. It could seize his property, or take his life, for causes of which itself was the judge. The States were distinctly prohibited from opposing its decrees, or from exercising any of the great functions of sovereignty. The Union alone was superior, anything in the Constitution and laws of the States to the contrary notwithstanding. It was not a compact; the States are only mentioned to receive commands or prohibitions, and the people of the United States is the single party by whom alone the instrument is executed... The Constitution was not drawn up by the States; it was not promulgated in the name of the States, it was not ratified by the States. The States never acceded to it and possess no power to secede from it. It was ordained and established over the States by a power superior to the States; by the people of the whole land, in their aggregate capacity, acting through Conventions of delegates expressly chosen for the purpose within each State, independently of the State Governments, after the project had been framed."

As to the sovereignty of the States, the following is a brief summary of an opinion by Judge Story, of the Supreme Court: "The States, before the Revolution, were not sovereign States, as they were all subjected to the British Crown. They were all dependencies of Great Britain. They never severally proclaimed their independence, for the Declaration of Independence was the united act of all the colonies in Congress assembled, and this Congress was appointed by the people of *all* the colonies. It was not an act of State Governments, but emphatically the act of the whole people of the United States. The several States are not even mentioned in the Declaration;

it was a national act; and the colonies formed a national Government as soon as Congress assumed powers and passed measures, in their nature national, and *the people from whose consent they took effect* must be considered as agreeing to form a nation. The individual sovereignty of the States was never thought of by the enlightened band of patriots who framed the Declaration." This was a most important question, for "state rights" and "slavery" were the exciting causes of the civil war, and the result of that contest ended both the theory and the institution.

Calhoun and the South Carolina leaders determined to bring forward nullification in the Senate, in order to test public opinion, but the matter came about in an unexpected manner. Senator Foote, of Connecticut, introduced a harmless inquiry regarding the sale of public lands in the West. In the debate that followed, Hayne, a brilliant Senator from South Carolina, made a bitter attack upon the New England States, accusing them of a desire to check the growth of the West, and he urged the West to unite with the South in opposition to the policy of protection. Webster replied to this, showing how groundless was such a statement. Hayne, though worsted in the argument, returned to the attack, and in another long speech dealt even more severely with New England, and Massachusetts in particular; and then made a full statement of the doctrine of nullification and of the views and principles entertained by Calhoun and his followers. The next day, January 26, 1830, with only a night for preparation, Daniel Webster arose to reply. This speech is familiarly known as "The Reply to Hayne." It was the greatest effort of Webster's life, and held spellbound the vast audience that packed the Senate Chamber and listened to that marvelous voice. He closed with

these glorious words, spoken from a heart that had been deeply stirred by the disloyalty expressed by Hayne: "When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on states dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored through all the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, not a single star obscured, bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as 'What is all this worth?' nor those other words of delusion and folly, 'Liberty first and Union afterwards!' but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart, — 'Liberty *and* Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!'"

The nullification party received no encouragement from Andrew Jackson who, at a banquet given on his birthday, proposed the toast, "Our Federal Union. It must be preserved." And this declaration he continued to maintain. The tariff of abominations was the ostensible cause of nullification. The South undoubtedly had a grievance; protection did not benefit their agricultural interests, and yet, as all articles were advanced in price by the tariff, they were taxed equally with the manufacturing States.

The President desired a modification of the tariff. The nullification sentiment in South Carolina was alarming, and Congress in response passed a new tariff bill in July,

1832, which reduced and abolished certain taxes, but did not materially alter protective duties; but that is not surprising, for Clay declared, "To preserve, maintain and strengthen the 'American system' I would defy the South, the President and the Devil." But, in November, South Carolina altered the whole issue and lost the sympathy of every loyal American, North and South, by passing an ordinance, in a convention called for the purpose, which declared the tariff bills of 1828 and 1832, passed by the Congress of the United States, null and void in South Carolina. A declaration was also adopted that the State would secede, should the Federal Government attempt to enforce the laws in opposition to her decision. Preparations were taken to carry out the ordinance and resist Federal authority, and it was voted that nullification should take effect February 1, 1833. There was, however, a strong Union feeling existing in the State, and a meeting was held at Charleston, at which resolutions were passed to support the Federal Government. The President acted promptly; he ordered two war vessels to Charleston, sent General Scott to take command of the troops, and issued a proclamation to the people of South Carolina, in which he said: "I consider the power to annul a law of the United States, assumed by one State, incompatible with the existence of the Union, contradicted expressly by the letter of the Constitution, unauthorized by its spirit, inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded, and destructive of the great object for which it was formed." This voiced the sentiment of the whole country, and the nation heartily applauded the President's course. Calhoun now resigned the Vice-Presidency, but immediately took his seat as a Senator. Congress did not lack great men, with Webster, Clay and Thomas H. Benton in the Senate, and in the

House John Quincy Adams, Rufus Choate and Edward Everett.

Calhoun had now cut adrift from party, though usually ready to unite in opposition to Jackson. He was ever after to be dominated by the ideas of nullification and slavery. As he possessed a fine intellect, pure morals, courteous manners and a singular charm and fascination, he was destined to become the teacher and political guide of the young men of the South and to fire them with enthusiasm for his cause.

The situation was now critical, and Gulian C. Verplanck of New York introduced in the House a new tariff bill. It provided that after 1834 all duties should be lowered to fifteen or twenty per cent. This was denounced as unjust to those who had invested all their capital in manufacturing and a cowardly surrender to a belligerent State. After a heated debate, Clay came to the rescue, and introduced a Compromise Bill in the Senate, and in February, 1833, the House, as by the Constitution all revenue bills must originate with them, struck out all of the Verplanck Bill but the enacting clause, and substituted Clay's bill for the discarded provisions. This passed the next day and was sent to the Senate, where it was passed March 1st. Clay's compromise provided that all duties over twenty per cent should be reduced by one-tenth of this excess after September, 1833; and by another tenth every second year thereafter, until September 30, 1841; then one-half the remaining excess should be taken off; and in 1842 the remainder, which would leave a general rate of twenty per cent on dutiable goods. Calhoun and his friends had to vote for this bill, in order to carry it through, for northern Senators were not particularly pleased with the compromise and threatened to defeat it. Clayton said: "If they cannot vote for a bill

to save their necks from the halter, their necks may stretch"; alluding to Jackson's threat to try Calhoun for treason and hang him high as Haman. Calhoun claimed that the bill was a free-trade victory won by nullification, and South Carolina acepted the olive branch extended to her and on March 11th repealed the nullification ordinance. The fire was thus smothered, but there was life in the embers, afterwards to set the country in a blaze. Clay defended his Compromise Bill by declaring that he pitied the peril of South Carolina and dreaded the horror of Civil War. But, in truth, he made a desperate effort to save his pet "system," which he saw was in danger of being overthrown, had he not compromised.

We must now consider General Jackson's course in relation to the United States Bank. In his first annual message the President startled the country by intimating his distrust of that institution. At that time, 1829, the bank was firmly established and intimately connected with the finances of the country. Its principal office was in Philadelphia, and it had twenty-five branches in different States. Its assets were over $100,600,000, and its issued notes amounted to nearly $27,600,000, and circulated at par with gold throughout the land, while its stock sold at 125, and its average dividends paid between six and seven per cent. This powerful and well-managed institution was under the presidency of Nicholas Biddle. Though alarmed by the message, the business men of the country remembered that the Bank's charter had yet six years to run, and no immediate danger was contemplated. But intrigue was busy, and a quiet attack was made upon the New Hampshire branch by a letter sent to Ingham, Secretary of the Treasury, in which charges were made and insinuations to the effect that Webster had obtained the appointment of the President of that

Bank. Mr. Biddle easily refuted these statements, and in a letter to Ingham asserted: "It is the settled policy of the institution, pursued with the most fastidious care, to devote itself exclusively to the purposes for which it was instituted; to abstain from all political contests; to be simply and absolutely a *bank,* seeking only the interests of the community and the judicious employment of the funds entrusted to its management, and never for a moment perverting its power to any local or party purposes." Later, after an investigation of its affairs by a Committee of Congress, John Quincy Adams declared on the floor of the House that the Bank had been conducted with as near an approach to perfect wisdom as the imperfection of human nature permitted. Then why did Jackson and his followers attempt to destroy this institution? Among the many opinions advanced, the two following seem the most plausible and, when combined, probably answer the question. Ingham wrote to Mr. Biddle that the Bank could not be kept out of politics, and hence its officers should be taken from both parties. In replying, Mr. Biddle said: "I deem it my duty to state to you, in a manner perfectly respectful to your official and personal character, yet so clear as to leave no possibility of misconception, that the Board of Directors of the Bank of the United States and the Board of Directors of the branches of the Bank of the United States acknowledge not the slightest responsibility of any description whatsoever to the Secretary of the Treasury touching the political opinions and conduct of their officers"; and he stated further: "The Bank is responsible to Congress only, and is carefully shielded by its charter from executive control." Schouler remarks: "Knowing Jackson's temper, we can imagine him at once flaming up and swearing 'By the Eternal,' his

favorite expletive, that he would take the strut out of this Biddle, and show him whether the executive had not an arm long and strong enough to shiver his Bank into splinters." Sargent says: "That a control, for party purposes, was attempted to be exercised over the operations of the Bank of the United States by certain prominent members of the Jackson party...no one can doubt. Had they succeeded in obtaining the control sought for, and in making a political engine of the Bank, favorable to the administration, does any one suppose that its re-charter would have been resisted by...the kitchen Cabinet, or that we should ever have heard of 'The Bank Veto Message'? In that case, the institution would have been an instrument of monstrous political power in their hands. Baffled as they were in their purpose, it was quite natural that they should seek to destroy that which they could not control." But these motives could not be declared to the nation, so they raised the cry of "monopoly," of "a powerful financial institution dangerous to the liberties of the people." The outcry against the moneyed class can always be counted upon to arouse the people. To-day is heard the same political slogan.

Clay had again been nominated for the Presidency by the National Republicans, and Jackson by the Democrats for a second term. The Republicans favored the Bank, as did many Democrats. Clay thought it a wise political move to make re-charter a campaign issue, and force at once the President's hand; so the Bank was urged to petition for a renewal of its charter, which it did by a memorial to the Senate, presented January 9, 1832. What has been termed "mob warfare" now began. Benton led the opposition, and in his well-known book he describes his methods: "Seeing that there was a

majority in each House for the institution, and not intending to lose time in arguing for it, our course of action became obvious, which was to attack incessantly, assail at all points, display the evil of the institution, rouse the people and prepare them to *sustain the veto.* We determined to have a contest in both Houses, and to force the Bank into defenses which would engage it in a general combat and lay it open to side-blows as well as direct attacks." These tactics were ultimately successful, for at last the Bank, fighting for its life, had to oppose its enemies with their own weapons and sink from its once honorable position into the strife of party intrigue. But it had not yet fallen upon these evil days.

The bill for a renewal of its charter having passed both Houses was sent to the President July 4, 1832. On July 10th, Jackson returned the bill with his veto. Congress adjourned on the 16th, and the question was carried to the country. A heated campaign followed. A new element entered into this canvass — the Anti-Masonic party, which had a peculiar origin. In 1826, William Morgan, a poor brick-layer, of Batavia, New York State, undertook to publish a book setting forth the secrets of the Masonic order. This created great excitement among the Freemasons, who succeeded in effecting the arrest of Morgan and in setting fire to the printing-office where the book was supposed to be in press. When Morgan was released from arrest, he was kidnapped and spirited away. He was never seen again, and it was claimed that he had been murdered: dropped from a boat into the Niagara River with a cannon-ball attached to his feet. This the Freemasons denied, but great excitement was created and all secret societies shared in the public condemnation. An Anti-Masonic

party was the outcome, and by 1832 it was strong enough to receive attention from the politicians. The Anti-Masons were opposed to the Jackson administration and nominated, from their own ranks, a candidate for the Presidency. They are to-day remembered for several innovations they introduced into political procedure. They were the first to frame a party platform of national principles, and the first to nominate a candidate for the Presidency at a national convention, it having been the custom before that time to nominate Presidential candidates by a party caucus in Congress, by state legislatures or by special local conventions. The Anti-Masons drew many votes that otherwise would have gone to the National Republicans, and the thoroughly organized Democratic party elected their popular hero by a large majority, Jackson receiving 219 votes in the Electoral College, while Clay had but 49. Van Buren was elected Vice-President. Jackson's well-known partiality for the "little magician" as Van Buren was called, in compliment to his political skill, occasioned many campaign caricatures. One represented Jackson as an old granny, fondling the little pet seated in his lap, and feeding him with a pap-spoon.

Jackson began his second term more determined than ever to compass the destruction of the United States Bank and of "Emperor Nicholas," or "Old Nick" — either was a favorite Democratic term for Mr. Biddle. The President decided on a bold move, — an autocratic use of power, more in the style of Napoleon than in the presumed attitude of the constitutional ruler of a people amply protected by law. He determined upon the removal of the United States deposits from the United States Bank and upon placing them in state banks throughout the country, acting in opposition to

the opinion of his cabinet (Duane, Secretary of the Treasury, refusing to comply, was dismissed), to the majority in both Houses of Congress, and to a vast number of Democrats throughout the country. "Because," as he said in defense, "I have no confidence in Congress. If the Bank is permitted to have the public money, there is no power that can prevent it from obtaining a charter; it will have it if it has to buy up all Congress, and the public funds would enable it to do so." And this insult was offered to a Congress which included John Quincy Adams, Webster, Clay, Calhoun, Benton, Everett, Choate, Binney, Corwin, Wright, Preston, Clayton, Ewing, and five future presidents of the United States — Tyler, Polk, Fillmore, Pierce and Buchanan. In compliance with Jackson's order no public money was deposited in the United States Bank after October 1, 1833. As nearly ten million dollars of Government funds were held by the Bank, that sum was drawn out by drafts as rapidly as required to meet current demands.

Under this staggering blow the Bank stood firm, but protested to Congress that the action of the executive was a breach of trust. A bitter contest followed in Congress, and Clay finally succeeded in passing in the Senate a vote of censure upon the President's course, which naturally infuriated Jackson. There was much alarm throughout the country, and something of a panic; that it was no worse was owing to the existing confidence in the stability of the Bank. Meetings were held in the large cities, and mammoth petitions were sent to Congress, begging that the public funds be replaced where they belonged, and delegations waited upon the President to make a similar request. These interviews with Jackson were stormy. The visitors were angrily told: "Go to the monster, go to Nick Biddle. He has all the

money; he has millions of specie in his vaults lying idle; he is trying to crush the state banks and make me change my policy." And he would declare: "Sooner than restore the deposits to that monster of corruption, I would undergo the tortures of ten Spanish Inquisitions." There is no doubt of the sincerity of this wrong-headed, fiery, but honest old man, he really believed that he was defending the people from a dangerous institution. His conduct, however, lost him much of his popularity throughout the country. In New York caricature medals were struck off and freely circulated, which were inscribed: "I will take the responsibility," and showed the President sitting inside of a fence, adorned with epaulettes and asses' ears, and grasping bags of gold.

The Bank of the United States and its unfortunate president had a disastrous future. When its charter expired in 1836 it obtained by corrupt legislation a state charter from the legislature of Pennsylvania, and started on an unfortunate career. It failed three times; first in the great panic of 1837 and for the last time in 1841, when its ruin was complete. Mr. Biddle had, two years previously, resigned the Presidency, but he had been so intimately connected with the institution that its ruin was attributed to him. He was tried on the charge of conspiring to plunder stockholders, was released on a technicality, and died at fifty-eight, insolvent and broken-hearted.

But to return to Jackson's administration and the financial condition of the country. The more imminent danger was from inflation instead of panic. The country was remarkably prosperous and 1835 saw the nation absolutely free from debt, while a big surplus was accumulating from tariff duties. Then followed a mania for

speculation and for new enterprises of every description. Banks were recklessly chartered and each strove for the privilege of being one of the "pet banks," as those receiving United States deposits were termed, in an effort to obtain a portion of that golden stream flowing from the national Treasury. There were heated discussions in Congress over the disposal of the surplus. It was finally decided to divide it between the States, but in order to avoid any Constitutional objections to this plan, the money was deposited with the States without interest, but it was a deposit or loan understood to be perpetual.

During Jackson's administration the Republicans, finding it impossible to carry through internal improvements, abandoned that part of the "American system" and the National or Cumberland Road was presented to the States through which it passed.

We are now to consider a movement of such far-reaching importance and of such tremendous results that for thirty years to come it underlies the whole political history of the United States; it is the *motif* of the great drama about to be enacted, and terminates in the greatest civil war in all history. It began in the Abolition Crusade, led by William Lloyd Garrison, which suddenly sprung into vivid life at the North.

Garrison was born in poverty at Newburyport, Massachusetts. He learned the trade of a printer and while working on an anti-slavery newspaper at Baltimore was fined and imprisoned for declaring the domestic slave trade as bad as the foreign and denouncing the slave dealers as robbers and murderers. Determined to be heard, he went to Boston, and there in an obscure office set up his press and when only twenty-five years old issued the first copy of the *Liberator* on January 1, 1830. He was very poor, set the type for the paper himself, lived on

simple fare and made his bed upon the workroom floor. The mission of the *Liberator* was announced on the first page. Speaking of the frozen apathy of the North regarding slavery, Garrison there declared: "I determined, at every hazard, to lift up the standard of emancipation in the eyes of the nation, within sight of Bunker Hill and *in the birthplace of liberty.* I shall strenuously contend for the enfranchisement of our slave population... Urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest. I will not equivocate. I will not excuse. I will not retreat a single inch, and *I will be heard!*" The movement differed from previous anti-slavery efforts, inasmuch as it was violently aggressive. "Emancipate at once!" "No Union with slaveholders!" Truly, a bold doctrine, as those who adopted it soon discovered, for they were everywhere persecuted at the North, while at the South any person who circulated the *Liberator* was subject to heavy penalties, and the State of Georgia offered a reward of $5,000 for the arrest of Garrison; which was either an empty threat, or a premium to the kidnapper.

The *Liberator* proclaimed the Federal Constitution "a covenant with death and an agreement with Hell," and for years prominent abolitionists refused to vote, declining to take any part in a slave-holding Government. All this was very fanatical, but these men and women who, for their devotion to the cause of human freedom, were insulted and despised of men and their very lives endangered, kindled the whole North into a flame that lighted the watchfires of liberty and made America free in truth as in name.

In 1831 there was a negro uprising in Virginia, which was speedily stamped out, but which alarmed the whole South, and the slave-owners accused Garrison of en-

deavoring to incite a servile insurrection. This was untrue, for Garrison did not believe in forcible resistance; he desired to force the conscience of men, not to incite a slave insurrection. But we can hardly blame the slave-owner if he failed to realize this distinction. Proselyting at the North continued and abolitionism became more and more obnoxious, for merchants and manufacturers feared that the agitation would affect their important business interests with the South; good society would have nothing to do with the fanatics; and the churches were lukewarm. Nevertheless, some of the most noble and truly cultured men and women of America were found in the ranks of the Abolitionists. As the *Liberator* could not be suppressed, nor anti-slavery meetings prohibited by law, for a free press and free speech are constitutional rights, resort was had to violence. Mobs broke up abolition meetings and the speakers in several instances nearly paid with their lives for exercising the right of free men to free speech. On one occasion, Garrison was rescued by the Mayor and police from the hands of the mob who were dragging him through the streets of Boston. That scene made Wendell Phillips an Abolitionist. Wealthy, cultured, of the highest social position, from the hour when he watched, with burning indignation, William Lloyd Garrison, pale, covered with mud, a rope around his waist, dragged by a hooting mob through the city streets, until the Emancipation Proclamation proclaimed the freedom of the negro, Wendell Phillips devoted his life, his fortune and his silver tongue to the abolition cause.

A gentleman who visited the *Liberator* office gives his impression of the editor: "I saw a pine desk in the far corner, at which a pale, delicate and apparently overtasked gentleman was sitting... I never was more astonished. All my preconceptions were at fault. My ideal

of the man was that of a stout, rugged, dark-visaged desperado, — something like a picture of a pirate. He was a quiet, gentle, and I might say, a handsome man, — a gentleman, indeed, in every sense of the word." Letters in which Garrison speaks of his wife furnish a glimpse of this gentleness of nature. In one he writes: "By her unwearied attentions to my wants, her sympathetic regards, her perfect equanimity of mind, and her sweet and endearing manners, she is no trifling support to abolitionism, inasmuch as she lightens my labors and enables me to find exquisite delight in the family circles, as an offset to public adversity." These very tender words are in striking contrast to his fiery utterances in the *Liberator,* where he dealt fierce blows and gave no quarter. He writes of a meeting to be held in Faneuil Hall (August, 1835): "The old cradle of liberty, it seems, is to be desecrated by a meeting of the friends of slavery and slave-holders! Better that the lightning of Heaven should smite and devour the building; better that the winds should scatter it in fragments over the whole earth; better that an earthquake should engulf it than that it should be used for so unhallowed and detestable a purpose! Is the spirit of Seventy-Six cowering beneath the whip of the slave-driver? Has Bunker Hill no voice for a crisis like this? What! is Faneuil Hall to ring with curses upon the heads of those who plead for liberty and equal rights, — for the emancipation of millions of enslaved American citizens? O, horrible prostitution! O, base subserviency to tyrants! O, damnable stain upon its fair fame throughout all time!... No fiction, no sophistry can hide the fact...that the contemplated meeting is a meeting to take sides with the slave-holder and against his victim; to palliate and countenance a bloody despotism and to plant a dagger in the bosom of Liberty!"

It is not strange that the excitement aroused by this fiery crusade spread throughout the land and echoed in the halls of Congress, where John Quincy Adams, who had always abhorred slavery, was to become the champion of the anti-slavery cause in the national legislature. His first act was to present fifteen petitions, signed by many citizens of Pennsylvania, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, which place being entirely under the control of the Government of the United States rendered it possible for the national Government to set an example of emancipation to the States.

Mr. Adams was not an agitator; he was a statesman who did his duty without fear and he was perfectly equipped for the task before him by training, ability, knowledge, prestige and authority, by persistence and courage and a merciless power of invective. It has been said: "He was probably the most formidable fighter in debate, of whom Parliamentary records preserve the memory. The hostility he encountered beggars description; the English language was deficient in adequate words of virulence and contempt to express the feelings which were entertained towards him... Nevertheless, the people of the Plymouth district sent him back every two years to Congress until his death."

It is advisable to continue the account of Mr. Adams until the dramatic close of his honorable life, although it extends some years beyond Jackson's administration; but by so doing is gained a fuller realization of his great work. He continued to present the petitions of northern men and women, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. These were necessarily very disagreeable to southern members and in 1836 Congress determined to prevent their presentation. A resolution was offered to the effect that all agitation of the subject

was disquieting and objectionable and "therefore, all petitions, memorials, resolutions, or papers relating to the subject of slavery, or the abolition of slavery, shall, without being either printed or referred, be laid upon the table, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon." Mr. Adams addressed the House, and amid shouts of "Order," finished what he had to say: "I hold the resolution to be a direct violation of the Constitution of the United States, the rules of this House, and the rights of my constituents." But it was carried by a vote of 117 to 68, and this was the "gag" which was long a rule of the House. At every session of Congress, during eight years, Adams moved to rescind this infamous rule, but was always voted down. He was destined to win finally, for he was contending for a sacred right, inasmuch as the first amendment to the Constitution guarantees to the people freedom of speech and the right to petition the Government for a redress of grievances. So, year after year, he presented the petitions sent to him, offering on one occasion 350 in a single day and always succeeding in asserting his principles, however wild the disorder. In illustration, take this scene, as described in his diary: "'I refuse to answer, because I consider all the proceedings of the House,'" — he meant all relating to the petitions, — "'as unconstitutional.' While in a firm and swelling voice I pronounced distinctly these words, the Speaker and about two-thirds of the House cried 'Order! Order! Order!' till it became a perfect yell. I paused a moment for it to cease, and then said: 'A direct violation of the Constitution of the United States!' While speaking these words, with loud, distinct and slow articulation, the bawl, 'Order! Order!' resounded again from two-thirds of the House. The Speaker, with agonizing lungs, screamed: 'I call upon the House to sup-

port me in the execution of my duty.' I then coolly resumed my seat."

On one occasion, the opposition endeavored to embarrass him by sending him a petition, signed by several Virginians, praying that the free colored population should be sold or expelled from the country. Mr. Adams stated, as he handed in the petition, that nothing could be more abhorrent to him than this prayer and that his respect for the *right of petition* was his only motive for presenting it. But the most exciting scene of all was on February 6, 1837, when he arose and stated that he held in his hand a petition, which purported to be an appeal from twenty-two slaves, and he would like to know whether it came within the rule of the House concerning petitions relating to slavery. The House was immediately in a tumult; cries of "Expel him! expel him!" were heard from all parts of the assembly. A motion was brought forward, stating that Mr. Adams, in attempting to introduce a petition from slaves, had committed an outrage on the feelings of the people of a large part of the Union, a flagrant contempt on the dignity of the House, and should be called before the bar of the House and censured by the Speaker. Could the impenetrable veil that conceals the future have been lifted for a moment, several of those outraged gentlemen would have seen in a Congress of the future, their very seats occupied by negroes, as duly elected representatives. There were hot and bitter words against the brave old man in the debates that followed, and then *he* obtained possession of the floor. Was he intimidated? Not in the least. "I disclaim," he said, "not any particle of what I have done; not a single word of what I have said do I unsay! Nay, I am ready to do and to say the same tomorrow!" And he declared: "I have constituents to

go to, who will have something to say if this House expels me. Nor will it be long before the gentlemen see me here again!" In the end the House was glad to lay the matter on the table.

Mr. Adams did good service in other directions during these years, but his imperishable fame rests on his services in behalf of the right of petition. His triumph came when, on December 3, 1844, the "gag" rule was rescinded by a vote of 108 to 80. These stormy years bore heavily upon him, and in the summer of 1847 he had a stroke of paralysis, but, in spite of his advanced age, for he was eighty years old, he improved and in December returned to Congress. As he entered the House, feeble and broken, every member rose to his feet and remained standing until two of their number had escorted him to his seat. On February 21, 1848, he was in his usual place when, early in the afternoon, the Speaker rose to put a question, but he was interrupted by cries of "Stop! Stop! Mr. Adams!" for Adams had made a motion as if to rise, but in the act fell forward insensible. All was confusion and the House hastily adjourned. Mr. Adams was placed upon a sofa and carried to the Speaker's room; he was dying; he spoke but twice, his last words being: "This is the last of earth! I am content!" He lingered in unconsciousness until the 23d, when he quietly passed away, dying in the Capitol, as it had been thought unadvisable to move him.

In reviewing the closing events of Jackson's administration, we note the opening pages of a discreditable chapter in the history of the United States. It relates to Texas. Hardy adventurers from the southwestern States had settled in that part of Mexico, taking with them their slaves, although the Mexican Republic had abolished slavery. As Mexico was not strong enough to enforce

this prohibition, she permitted slavery in that portion of her territory known as Texas. Differing in race and religion, there was soon friction and the Texans seceded, defeating the Mexicans at the Battle of San Jacinto in 1836. Declaring their independence, they established a government, with provisions strongly favoring slavery. The next year (1837) the United States recognized their independence, as did, soon after, England, France and Belgium. In the Senate debate on the subject Calhoun announced that he not only favored acknowledging the independence of Texas, but desired its admission into the Union as a State. The slaveholders of the South desired to obtain this vast territory for the extension of slavery, and they were charged with having carried out a cleverly devised scheme for obtaining their neighbor's property by settling there, establishing slavery, wresting the country from the weak control of Mexico, and setting up a government; naught remained but to add this new domain to their native land.

Jackson had, in 1829, offered $5,000,000 for the purchase of Texas, but Mexico had declined to part with her territory — hence the resort to intrigue. John Quincy Adams and other contemporaries assert that Jackson proposed to his old political friend, Sam Houston, of Tennessee, to undertake the conquest of Texas, with the object of annexing it to the United States. Houston undoubtedly enlisted men at New Orleans and invaded the territory without opposition from the Federal authorities. The President, though favoring annexation, desired to gain in addition California and New Mexico, and preferred to keep the question open until these could be obtained; besides, at the North, there was a strongly developed opposition to a vast increase of slave territory; so the matter was left in abeyance.

At this time the drift of political elements was in the direction of a new party. The tariff, by the compromise of 1833, was settled for years to come, the Bank was doomed, and slavery was not yet the burning question it became later. Those opposed to the Democratic party simply united in opposition to Jackson's sway; King Andrew, they named him. And thus arose the name Whig; they would unite to oppose King Andrew, as the Whigs of earlier days had resisted King George the Third. In pursuance of this idea they adopted eagles, the flag and Washington's portrait as insignia and set up liberty-poles in opposition to the hickory poles planted by the Jackson men. In the solid ranks of the New York democracy there was at last a break, a faction known as the "Equal Rights" party, whose platform was radically democratic. They became known as "Loco-Focos," and obtained their peculiar name from this incident. At a meeting in Tammany Hall, their opponents declared an adjournment and withdrew; and, to make assurance doubly sure, shut off the gas. The Equal Rights men obtained candles and loco-foco matches and lit up the hall, adopted a platform and nominated an Equal Rights ticket. One of the daily papers dubbed them the "Loco-Focos," and in time this name was applied to the Jackson-Van Buren wing of the Democratic party.

Webster and William Henry Harrison were the most prominent Whig candidates; the former, however, withdrew. Jackson's influence secured Van Buren's nomination and he received in the Electoral College 170 votes. Harrison had 73. For Vice-President, the votes were scattered among four candidates, and as no one had a majority the Senate, in accordance with the Constitution, selected the two names having the greatest number of votes and by a majority vote

elected the Vice-President — Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky.

In the closing months of Jackson's last term a strange scene was witnessed in the United States Senate. On December 26, 1836, Senator Benton moved that the resolution condemning the President's financial policy be expunged from the minutes. During the three years that had elapsed since Clay's resolution of censure, Jackson had exerted his utmost power to obtain its removal from the record. The whole country had discussed the question of expunging and it had been an issue in the late campaign. Many Democratic Senators were instructed by their legislatures to vote as the President so ardently desired. Benton, having presented the motion, made a long and extremely laudatory speech, in which the "transcendent merits" of Andrew Jackson's "glorious administration" were duly set forth. In vain did Clay, Webster and Calhoun object, the President triumphed as usual. Senator Benton, in his book, describes the final scene — the brilliantly lighted chamber at midnight, the immense audience, the Secretary bringing forward the original journal and amid a profound silence, drawing a broad, black line around the offending words and writing across them "Expunged, by order of the Senate, this 16th day of March, 1837." So pleased was Jackson that he celebrated his success by a dinner to the "expungers."

Professor Sumner gives this summary of Andrew Jackson's life: "He held more power than any other American had ever possessed. He had been idolized by the great majority of his countrymen. He had been thwarted in hardly anything on which he had set his heart. He had had his desire upon all his enemies. He lived to see Clay defeated again and to help to bring it about. He saw Calhoun retire in despair and disgust. He saw the

bank in ruins; Biddle arraigned on a criminal charge, and then dead, broken-hearted. In his last years he joined the church, and on that occasion...he professed to forgive all his enemies in a body. It does not appear that he ever repented of anything, ever thought that he had done wrong in anything, or ever forgave an enemy as a specific individual."

CHAPTER XVI

PRESIDENCY OF MARTIN VAN BUREN, WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON AND JOHN TYLER

Andrew Jackson was the last great President until Abraham Lincoln. During the intervening years the nation did not lack great men, but they were to be found in the House or the Senate, not in the President's chair. By a perverse fate those two famous men, Webster and Clay, were destined to go to their graves bitterly disappointed at failing to obtain the coveted honor of the Presidency. Van Buren, Harrison, Tyler, Polk, Taylor, Fillmore, Pierce and Buchanan succeeded each other for one term administrations, except in case of death, during the next twenty-five years. They all present a striking similarity in training and circumstances. Harrison and Taylor were military men, all the others were lawyers and all, save Taylor, served in the Congress of the United States. With the exception of Harrison, Taylor and Buchanan, all had been members of state legislatures. The natural manner of progression appeared to be the bar, state legislature, Congress, the Presidency. The three Virginians, Harrison, Tyler and Taylor, belonged to families of social prominence. Polk, the remaining Southerner, was the son of a farmer of North Carolina. Of the northern men, Van Buren and Fillmore were of New York, Pierce of New Hampshire, and Buchanan of

Pennsylvania. All were of somewhat humble origin, especially Fillmore and Buchanan; Fillmore beginning life by working in a woolen mill and studying after the day's labor with great diligence. Of him Queen Victoria remarked, "he had the most perfect manner of any American she had ever met." Buchanan had been United States Minister to Russia, and Harrison the distinguished Governor of the Northwest Territory. These years are filled by one absorbing question — slavery — and their history is a review of the unavailing efforts by which a nation, recoiling on the verge of civil war, endeavored to stay the fraternal strife.

Martin Van Buren was inaugurated March 4, 1837, and at once encountered a tremendous financial storm, the result of a period of inflation, over-investment, wild speculation, the reckless banking that followed the disposal of the United States deposits among the state banks, and the withdrawal from them of over $9,000,000 at a time of stringency in the money market; that amount being the first instalment of the surplus which had been voted as a deposit or loan to the States. The panic of 1837 was one of the most disastrous in the mercantile history of the United States. On May 10th, all the banks in New York City suspended specie payment and those in Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore immediately followed suit. By summer not a bank in the Union could meet its demands in gold and silver. The "pet banks" suspended with the others and in consequence Government funds to the extent of many millions were unavailable. Business was paralyzed, there were innumerable failures and wide-spread distress. The Government, hampered for specie, began paying its obligations in the notes of the suspended banks, which created great indignation throughout the country. Van Buren called a special ses-

sion of Congress and laid before them a new plan, to which the emergency naturally led. It was to separate forever the Government finances from either state or national banks, to make specie the medium of all Government transactions, and to place its funds in its own vaults, in its own custody. This was the plan of the "Independent Treasury," or as it is now called, the "Sub-Treasury." This radical change, which was called the "Divorce Bill," as it separated the Government from the banks, was viewed with distrust and defeated. In January, 1840, it was presented to Congress for the fourth time and, as on a previous occasion, passed the Senate promptly. It was helped through the House by the pressure of the "previous question" and passed on June 30th. It provided for the care of the funds and the appointment of custodians, and made the principal cities of the country centers of deposit.

A natural result of the panic was a revulsion of political feeling and the delighted Whigs saw discontented Democrats marching under their banner, which in fact floated over various and incongruous elements, united for the occasion and sustained by the hope that a change would effect a return of prosperity. William Henry Harrison became their candidate, to the chagrin of Webster and the bitter disappointment of Clay, whose friends were out-manœuvred in the Convention. John Tyler was nominated for Vice-President. The Democrats again put up Van Buren. The Whig campaign was wildly enthusiastic, not in support of principles but in a reaction from party methods, and the vague but wide-spread feeling that any change would be for the better. There were monster mass-meetings, more in the nature of huge picnics than political gatherings, for the wives and daughters were present and songs and the blare of the brass

band increased the universal jollity. A Democratic paper had sneered at the idea of the party of Webster and Clay uniting on a comparatively unimportant man and remarked: "Give Harrison a log-cabin and a barrel of cider, and he would stay content in Ohio." The Whigs caught up this and dubbed him the "Log-cabin Candidate." Log-cabins, ornamented with coon-skins and with a barrel of cider before the door, whose latch-string was always hanging out to admit the welcome guest, became a feature in every procession and awakened boundless enthusiasm. The Log-cabin Campaign has been compared to the breach made in the walls of Jericho at the blowing of the trumpet and the great shout. "For," continues the writer, "the Whigs fairly sung and hooted Van Buren into retirement. The Democrats were out-talked, out-roared, out-sung, and, when the time came, out-voted."

William Henry Harrison was inaugurated on March 4, 1841. He had arrived in Washington on February 9th, his sixty-eighth birthday. The weather had been inclement during his journey from Ohio and, wearied as he was, he became at once the center of a crowd, who accepted literally the "latch-string out," which had been so conspicuous in the recent campaign. The turmoil and excitement told upon his health, and when a cold developed pneumonia he had little strength for resistance. At the last he became delirious and evidently thought himself addressing his successor, when, faithful unto death, his last words were: "Sir, I wish you to understand the true principles of the Government. I wish them carried out; I ask nothing more." He died on April 5th, one month after taking office. The people loved and honored this honest, upright man, who had faithfully served the nation, and they were deeply shocked and grieved at this calamity.

John Tyler, the Vice-President, was at his home in Virginia, but arrived at the Capital on the morning of the 6th, and took the oath of office on the same day. On April 14th, he was installed in the White House. The situation was unprecedented, for Tyler was the first Vice-President to become President. He had been nominated to satisfy one of those factions which had united with the Whigs to defeat the Loco-Focos, as the Jackson-Van Buren wing of the Democratic party was now called, and in no anticipation of a future contingency.

Was Tyler a Whig? That disturbing question made the party very anxious. Upon taking office, he issued an address, which was "Whiggish" in sound, but was susceptible of a different construction. In June Congress assembled in special session. Both Houses passed a bill repealing the Sub-Treasury law and it was signed by the President. A bill was then brought in to establish that pet Whig measure, a national bank, which, in deference to Tyler's prejudices, was called the Fiscal Bank of the United States. It passed both Houses, was sent to the President and returned vetoed, on the ground that it provided for the establishment of State branches without the consent of the respective States. The Whigs were furious, their opponents delighted. A number of Democratic Senators called on the President that evening and congratulated him upon the service which he had rendered the country. A few days later, in the Senate, Clay passed this demonstration in review and scored Tyler. He pictured a Democrat present on that occasion as addressing this President, elected by Whig ballots, in the following words: "We had been ourselves struggling for days and weeks to arrest the passage of the Bill, and to prevent the creation of the monster to which it gives birth. We had expended all our logic, exerted all our

ability, employed all our eloquence; but in spite of all our utmost efforts, the friends of your Excellency in the Senate and in the House of Representatives proved too strong for us. And we have now come most heartily to thank your Excellency that you have accomplished for us that against your friends which we, with our most strenuous exertions, were unable to achieve." A new bill was prepared which established a Fiscal Corporation. Under the operation of the previous question it passed both Houses, was sent to the President, and returned with his veto and a message that he considered any such plan unconstitutional and that "he would rather perish in upholding our institutions than win applause by sacrificing his conscience." His conscience was not so sensitive regarding his broken faith with the Whigs. To be obliged to adjourn Congress with the currency question unsolved, was a bitter humiliation for that party.

After the second veto the Cabinet, being all Whigs, resigned, only Webster remaining, because, as Secretary of State, he was about to negotiate a treaty with England. Lord Ashburton arrived in April, 1842, and the Treaty of Washington was negotiated, which settled the long-vexed question of the northern boundary extending from Maine to the Rocky Mountains. The right of search claimed by England for the suppression of the slave trade was covered by a clause, called the "Cruising Convention," which stipulated that each nation should keep its own squadron on the coast of Africa to enforce separately its own laws against the slave trade. This forever disposed of the last excuse for right of search. It redounds to Tyler's credit that he did all in his power to secure the success of the treaty. Webster determined to remain in the Cabinet until both nations had fully ratified the treaty, but this greatly displeased the Whigs, who having pub-

licly renounced Tyler were ill-pleased that Webster should remain in his Cabinet. The Whigs made no further efforts in behalf of national banking and it will, at this day, be generally admitted that Tyler, by the bank vetoes, rendered unwittingly a valuable service to his country. The Sub-Treasury, which was to be restored, is undoubtedly a better plan. But not so, thought the Whigs of 1841.

The tariff of 1833 now underwent its last reduction (1842) and the Government being in need of funds, the Whigs brought in a new tariff bill which levied duties of from twenty-five to forty per cent. It would have produced an adequate revenue aside from the public land sales, which yielded more than $2,000,000 a year. This bill the President vetoed and a second tariff bill shared a like fate. A bill was finally framed, which the President signed, as he had become alarmed at the state of business and the public credit.

The Abolition movement at the North had, in spite of persecution and obloquy, been steadily gaining ground; and the anti-slavery sentiment was increased even among those who disapproved of the Abolitionists. Webster, in a speech at New York, described this condition when he said: "The subject (of slavery) has not only attracted attention as a question of politics, but it has struck a far deeper-toned chord. It has arrested the religious feeling of the country; it has taken strong hold on the consciences of men. He is a rash man, indeed, and little conversant with human nature, and especially has he a very erroneous estimate of the character of the people of this country, who supposes that a feeling of this kind is to be trifled with or despised."

The Rev. Samuel J. May relates that he once remonstrated with Garrison, advising him to be less heated and

extreme. Garrison laid a gentle hand upon his shoulder and replied with sad earnestness: "Brother May, I have need to be all on fire, for I have mountains of ice about me to melt." A new phase of the question was to accelerate the melting process — the return of fugitive slaves to their masters. During Washington's administration, a fugitive slave law had been enacted in accordance with the fugitive slave clause of the Constitution; this now became the occasion of great bitterness of feeling. The free North saw men and women, who had braved the utmost peril to obtain their freedom, captured and returned to servitude. Disgraceful as this was felt to be, even more intolerable was the demand that northern States should aid in these captures and that white men accused of stealing slaves should be delivered to southern state executives for punishment. Governor Seward, of New York, refused to surrender three white citizens to the States of Georgia and Virginia. In Massachusetts, there was intense excitement over the arrest of George Latimer, a native colored man from Virginia, who was claimed as a slave. A great crowd gathered in Faneuil Hall to protest against his surrender, and his owner was forced to accept the payment of $400 and to make out free papers in return. These, and other like scenes, angered the North and attempts were made in several States to mitigate the evil. Massachusetts forbade the use of her sheriffs or her jails in hunting down fugitive slaves and New York granted a jury trial to determine the facts in all such cases.

Tyler had now become a President without a party, for the Loco-Focos refused to support him and he was abhorrent to the Whigs. He determined, therefore, to bid for the southern pro-slavery vote by compassing the annexation of Texas. In pursuance of this plan Calhoun

was made Secretary of State, in place of Webster's successor, Upsher, who had lost his life by the explosion of a gun on board the war-steamer, Princeton, during an excursion down the Bay. Two members of the Cabinet were killed and the President and Senator Benton narrowly escaped a like fate. The reorganized Cabinet were all pro-slavery men.

The South had seen with alarm the North rapidly surpassing her in population and wealth. Immigration avoided the slave States where, owing to a system of servile labor, the white citizen shared in the general contempt felt for all toilers. In order to regain their ascendency, they were exceedingly anxious to obtain Texas, out of which to create new slave States. Calhoun was in hearty sympathy with this scheme and, by successful intrigue, a treaty was negotiated and sent to the Senate, notwithstanding that Mexico, in the previous August, had notified the United States that any act of Congress for annexing Texas would be considered a cause of war. The treaty was accompanied by a document, containing a despatch from Lord Aberdeen, which had been communicated to the Government by the British Minister. This extract will suffice to explain the tenor of the despatch: "With regard to Texas, we avow that we wish to see slavery abolished there, as elsewhere, and we would rejoice if the recognition of that country by the Mexican Government should be accompanied by an engagement, on the part of Texas, to abolish slavery eventually." Calhoun declared that: "In self-defense we must annex Texas, in order to defeat England's intention of resorting to measures that would disturb our internal prosperity and tranquillity." There was nothing surprising in Lord Aberdeen's despatch, for England had declared her anti-slavery views on all occasions. Calhoun simply

seized upon a plausible pretext, regardless of fact or truth. Von Holst remarks: "Because the slave-holding States thought their peculiar institution endangered by the existence of an independent free State, it was declared to be the 'imperative duty' and 'a sacred obligation' of the United States, imposed by their Constitutional compact, to absorb that State into the Union, in order to prevent the abolition of slavery in it." This claim awakened bitter opposition at the North among all classes. Northern pro-slavery men were willing that slavery should remain undisturbed, considering it a local southern institution, but to thus nationalize slavery was a *new* doctrine, and to pledge the nation to war in support of it aroused an opposition so intense that impeachment of the President was urged. The Senate, on June 8, 1844, rejected the treaty and the President and his Secretary of State resorted to fresh intrigues.

In the Presidential campaign of 1844, Clay was again the candidate of the Whigs, and James K. Polk, of the regular or Loco-Foco Democrats. Tyler, who had been nominated at a convention of office-holders and pro-slavery men, was induced to withdraw, as he had no chance of success. The canvass opened brightly for the Whigs. The campaign song:

> Here's to you, Harry Clay!
> Here's to you, my noble soul!
> Here's to you, with all my heart!

expressed very truly the intense affection and admiration felt by the Whigs for their brilliant leader. One instance will suffice to show Clay's sway over the hearts of men. Such a scene has *never* been witnessed in the United States Senate as on the occasion of Clay's retirement, March 31, 1842, when he delivered a farewell address of such thrilling eloquence that at its close the Senate, quite

overcome, immediately adjourned and all crowded about him in an affecting leave-taking, even Calhoun embracing him after years of estrangement.

Clay, a southern man with northern principles, disliked the plot for the annexation of Texas and wrote, on April 14, 1844, what is called the Raleigh letter, in which he set forth his objections. This naturally angered the Gulf States, for they ardently favored the Texas movement. Daniel Webster, who, by remaining in Tyler's Cabinet had become estranged from the Whigs, had been restored to favor and loyally supported Clay. The canvass was very exciting and the result was seriously affected by the rise of two new parties who drew support mainly from the Whigs. One was the "Native American party," which was very similar to the A. P. A. of today; it desired only Americans and Protestants to hold office. Mr. Frelinghuysen, the Whig nominee for the Vice-Presidency, was President of the American Bible Society and the Catholics, quite rightly resenting the un-American principles introduced into the campaign by the American party, voted in great numbers for Polk. The other and more important branch was the Liberty or Free-soil party, which was strictly anti-slavery. There were now two thousand anti-slavery societies, with a membership of two hundred thousand. The extreme Abolitionists did not wish the anti-slavery movement to become identified with politics, desiring to have it remain an entirely moral reform. Wendell Phillips never voted in his life and Garrison but once. Nevertheless, a party was organized and James G. Birney nominated for the Presidency. Clay, with his strong love for the Union, disliked Abolitionists, who talked as boldly of seceding as did any southern nullifier, though arguing for human rights instead of state rights. Clay still hoped for gradual emancipation,

but this did not suit the extremists of the North and most certainly the trend of political events did not foreshadow any such desirable result.

Texas was the burning issue in this campaign. Polk was outspoken in favor of annexing Texas, and Clay, wishing to right himself with the Gulf States, now attempted to explain his position in what are called the Alabama letters. In one he said: "If the annexation of Texas could be accomplished without dishonor, without a war with Mexico, and with the common consent of the Union, I should be glad to see it." That letter cost him the Presidency. The Anti-Slavery Whigs were astonished and indignant. He wrote other letters to undo the mischief and the Democratic papers published scathing reviews of his "six Texas manifestoes." It now became evident that the State of New York would decide the election and that there the vote of the third party would turn the scale. The State was lost to the Whigs, for had Henry Clay received the Free-soil vote cast for Birney, his election would have been assured. The great leader, whose reputation was world-wide, was defeated by a man scarcely known outside his own State. Carl Schurz remarks: "The object of Clay's highest ambition escaped him because, at the decisive moment, he was untrue to himself." So intense was the grief at his defeat that the accounts seem incredible as we read of weeping men and women, business deserted while men gathered in groups to deplore the calamity, and of the universal gloom that prevailed throughout the North. This affection took a very practical turn, for Henry Clay discovered, upon visiting his banker, that all his debts had been paid, his notes and mortgages cancelled; the money having been sent the banker for that purpose by anonymous admirers.

Tyler and Calhoun declared that the Democratic victory proclaimed the wish of the people for immediate annexation, and a bill was introduced which authorized the President to offer Texas admission into the Union by a joint resolution of Congress, as if it were a territory. It passed both Houses and was signed by the President March 1, 1845. On the last day of his term Tyler, acting on his own responsibility, sent to Texas by special messenger an official announcement of the act. This unprecedented method of annexation of a foreign state by act of Congress was asserted to be unconstitutional by the Whigs.

William H. Seward declared that Texas and slavery involved the integrity of the Union and he prophesied truly when he said: "To increase the slave-holding power is to...give a fearful preponderance which may and probably will be speedily followed by demands to which the Democratic free labor States cannot yield and the denial of which will be made the ground of secession, nullification and disunion." And that is exactly what happened!

CHAPTER XVII

PRESIDENCY OF JAMES K. POLK

JAMES K. POLK was inaugurated on March 4, 1845. In a conversation with George Bancroft, Secretary of the Navy in his recently appointed Cabinet, Polk remarked: "There are four great measures which are to be the measures of my administration: one, a reduction of the tariff; another, the independent Treasury; a third, the settlement of the Oregon boundary question; and lastly, the acquisition of California." And he successfully carried out his programme. On July 30, 1846, he signed a new tariff bill, which greatly reduced protective duties and was to take effect in the following December. This tariff of 1846 served the country for ten years and was only changed in 1857 that further reductions might prevent a surplus; which was the last important change until the Civil War rendered necessary increased revenues. The results of this low tariff have been thus summed up: "This free-trade tendency...gave in the first place a splendid impulse to American commerce. Our sails whitened the remotest seas. Our flag bore and then brought back. Next, agriculture prospered; and it was most of all the prospect of supplying the wide population of the British Empire with American food products, as well as American cotton, that caused the Polk tariff to be enacted... And had our manufactures been swamped by the interchange that followed? On the

contrary, they grew and prospered, for that best of all bounties was afforded them, raw materials unburdened by taxation, and the widest possible market."

In December, 1845, the Independent, or Sub-Treasury, was reëstablished and has been continued until the present time. By the efforts of the Secretary of the Navy, a Naval Academy at Annapolis was created (1845). Congress also formed (March, 1849) a new Executive Department, the Department of the Interior, under a Secretary to be known as the Secretary of the Interior, who should rank equally with the other members of the Cabinet. Polk, in his inaugural address, stated: "Our title to the country of the Oregon is clear and unquestionable." The country thus claimed extended to 54° 40′ north latitude, that is, to the southern boundary of what is now Alaska, but which was then Russian territory. This boundary question had been for many years in dispute, and during the time there had been a joint occupancy of the country by Great Britain and the United States. The former did not propose to yield so important a point as a Pacific coast line for her North American provinces without a struggle. Recognizing this, the Americans sent up a defiant shout, "54-40 or fight!" and this while it was evident that in annexing Texas they had annexed her Mexican quarrel as well. By the Ashburton Treaty the northern boundary line extended from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, on the parallel 49°, but from the Rockies to the Pacific no line had ever been agreed upon. As neither the United States or Great Britain had any absolute claim to Oregon, a compromise most naturally suggested a settlement, and the parallel of 49° extended to the Pacific indicated a proper adjustment; but as that gave the Columbia River to the United States, England had always

objected to her obtaining this decided advantage. In July, 1845, James Buchanan, Secretary of State, reopened negotiations with Mr. (afterwards Sir) Richard Pakenham, the British Minister at Washington, by proposing the 49th parallel as the boundary line. This was a decided retreat from his former position of 54° 40′, but Pakenham did not consider the proposal satisfactory, and Buchanan thereupon withdrew it and re-asserted claim to the whole of Oregon. "54-40, or fight" again became a popular toast among the radicals. The pro-slavery party, however, cared little for Oregon; Texas claimed all their attention, and it became evident that the 49th parallel would be acceptable to the majority. Negotiations were renewed with England, and the matter was settled by a treaty ratified in June, 1846, by which that parallel, 49°, became the northern boundary line, and all of Vancouver's Island the property of Great Britain.

The Texas question was not destined to so peaceable a settlement, for which result the United States was responsible. The President ordered four thousand men to Texas and placed General Taylor in command with orders to occupy a position in the disputed territory, while he stationed a United States squadron in Mexican waters, on the pretext of protecting American interests. The Texas question had grown to vast proportions; not only was the boundary of that State to be extended to the Rio Grande, but Polk was determined to obtain New Mexico and California in addition. The President dispatched John Slidell to Mexico, with instructions to offer payment for the additional territory, but he returned discomfited. Mexico refused to recognize him. In the meantime General Taylor had been ordered to advance his troops to the Rio Grande.

He encamped opposite Matamoras, a Mexican town on the south bank of the river, and planted a battery to command the place, while American war vessels blockaded the mouth of the river to cut off supplies from the town. The Mexican general naturally considered this the commencement of hostilities; he crossed the Rio Grande, and a skirmish with a small body of American troops followed, in which several Americans were killed. When this news reached Washington, the President sent a message to both Houses of Congress, stating that American blood had been spilled on American soil, and asking that the existence of war be recognized. Congress immediately declared war, May 13, 1846. There was a heated debate over the preamble, which read, "Whereas, *by the act of Mexico,* a state of war exists," it being declared that this was a brazen untruth, "for," asserted the Whigs, "our own acts have precipitated hostilities." The Anti-Slavery party at the North recognized the "true inwardness" of the Texas annexation scheme, and one can gain a perfect knowledge of their sentiments by reading the first series of Lowell's "Bigelow Papers."

General Grant, who served through the Mexican War, in his "Personal Memoirs" gives this opinion: "I...to this day regard the war...as one of the most unjust ever waged by a stronger against a weaker nation." This feeling found frequent expression in Congress. "Why not," Benton thundered, "march up to 'fifty-four forty' as courageously as we march upon the Rio Grande? Because Great Britain is powerful and Mexico weak." But the plea of "manifest destiny" was put forth, that the United States was foreordained to extend a broad zone from ocean to ocean.

The war, which lasted two years, was a succession of

victories. By the treaty of peace signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo on February 2, 1848, the Rio Grande was made the boundary of Texas, from its mouth to El Paso, and the United States obtained New Mexico and California by the payment of $15,000,000. As slavery did not exist in Mexico or her provinces, Mexico desired a clause inserted in the treaty, providing for the continued exclusion of slavery from the ceded territory. The United States Commissioner N. P. Trist replied: "If the territory should be covered all over a foot thick with pure gold, on the condition that slavery should be excluded therefrom, I could not then even entertain the proposition."

The Mexican War was inevitably accompanied by a secondary contest and active hostilities began in Congress within three months after the declaration of war. In August, 1846, the President requested the House of Representatives to grant him $2,000,000 for "the purpose of settling the difficulties with Mexico." It was understood that the money was required in negotiations to obtain additional territory. The Whigs and Anti-Slavery Democrats now joined forces, in an attempt to prevent the South from further extending slavery. They selected David Wilmot of Pennsylvania to move an amendment to the bill which had been presented in accordance with the President's desire. This amendment provided that "slavery should be forever prohibited in all territory acquired from Mexico," which was simply extending to any new acquisition the principles of the Ordinance of 1787. This was the famous Wilmot Proviso, which created great excitement throughout the country and a sharp division between North and South. It was defeated, and the bill as well. In the Congress of December, 1847, the Wilmot Proviso was again tacked

to a similar appropriation bill and again lost in both Houses after a bitter contest. The northern Whigs and many northern Democrats voted for it, but every member from the slave States except one from Delaware voted against it. The southern slave-holders, Whigs and Democrats, were drawn more closely together by this contest, and likewise the northern Anti-slavery men of all parties.

A government was now organized for the territory of Oregon, with a clause which excluded slavery forever from the whole territory. Polk signed the bill, stating that he did so because Oregon was north of the parallel 36° 30′, the Missouri Compromise line, and he urged Congress to pass a bill extending that line to the Pacific. That the Oregon bill could be passed through Congress was owing to Whig victories at the polls. A great number of northern men were dissatisfied with the war and the President's crafty policy, and the peculiar condition existed of an administration conducting a victorious war and losing ground with the country. Another unpleasant fact for Polk was that every day added to the fame of the great Whig Generals, Taylor and Scott.

In the Congress that met December 1847, Robert C. Winthrop, a Whig, was chosen Speaker. In the House were Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson, and in the Senate Webster, Calhoun, Thomas H. Benton, Stephen A. Douglas, Reverdy Johnson, John A. Dix and Jefferson Davis. For good or ill, these men were to exert a powerful influence upon their country's future.

1848 was the year of the Presidential election. Clay had hoped to receive again the Whig nomination, but his party realized that they had little hope of success with a thrice defeated candidate, although he excited the same affectionate admiration as of old; whenever he

spoke in public, no building could hold the crowds that struggled to hear him. As was rather wittily said: "Clay could get more men to run after him to hear him speak, and fewer to vote for him, than any man in America." Clay, Scott and Webster each had their supporters, but the party united on the hero of the hour, General Zachary Taylor, a man of sterling patriotism and proved courage, whose sincerity and home-spun sense made him a popular candidate; the people liked and trusted "Rough-and-Ready," as his soldiers called him. But many Whigs and Democrats, of strong anti-slavery tendencies, joined the Free-Soil party, in opposition to Taylor, because he was a southern slave-holder. They held a Convention and adopted a bold platform, which declared that Congress should exclude slavery from all free territory; there should be no more slave States; no more compromises with slavery; but free soil, free speech, free labor and free men. They nominated Martin Van Buren for the Presidency and Charles Francis Adams for the Vice-Presidency. The regular Democrats nominated General Lewis Cass, of Michigan. Zachary Taylor was elected by a large majority, with Millard Fillmore as Vice-President. It was the last triumph of the Whig party; as soon as slavery became the absorbing issue, that party was necessarily broken up by the division between the Whigs, North and South.

Polk was not a popular President, and no regret was expressed at his retirement, and no public honors were paid to his memory when he died, three months after leaving office.

CHAPTER XVIII

PRESIDENCY OF ZACHARY TAYLOR AND MILLARD FILLMORE

Zachary Taylor was inaugurated March 4, 1849, and the new administration at once confronted the vexed questions connected with the new acquisition of territory. As early as February, memorials from California and New Mexico had been presented to Congress, protesting against the introduction of slavery into those regions. At the North, feeling was deeply stirred, and legislatures of every State but one[1] passed resolutions that Congress had the power, and it was its duty, to prohibit slavery in the territories. The South, alarmed at the increasing anti-slavery sentiment, rallied to its cause, and its state legislatures passed resolutions deploring the Wilmot Proviso, and asserting their intention to resist any infringement of their right to extend slavery. Excitement was at fever-heat, and threats to secede and set up a southern Confederacy were frequent.

In California the rapid march of events determined the future of that territory. Before the treaty of peace had been signed (January, 1848), gold was discovered in the Sacramento Valley, but no one in the United States or Mexico knew of it when the treaty was ratified. By the opening of 1849 the news had spread like wild-fire,

[1] Iowa. The resolution passed the Assembly, but was blocked in the Senate.

and there was a mad rush for the gold fields, not only from the United States, but in a lesser degree from foreign countries. In that year there arrived in California thirty-nine thousand persons by sea, and forty-two thousand over-land, and San Francisco, from a straggling settlement, became a city of twenty thousand inhabitants. All who have read Bret Harte, know the life of the *Argonauts of '49* — a tale more strange than any invented by romance. A new Republic had sprung into life as though in response to the rubbing of the magic lamp. Never before or since was such a delirium as attended the California gold fever. Slavery had little chance of recognition from those toiling men. As one is said to have remarked: "Where every man made a slave of himself, there was no use keeping niggers."

When the delegates met in convention, to organize a state government, the clause prohibiting slavery passed without a dissenting vote. The Constitution was voted for in November, 1849, and in December Congress met. So many factions were there represented that the Whigs could not command a majority, and it was three weeks before a Speaker was elected, and then it was only accomplished by suspending the rule and permitting a plurality to elect. In the Upper House were seen together, for the last time, that immortal trio — Webster, Clay and Calhoun; for Clay had returned to the Senate, from which he had taken a dramatic farewell. His health was feeble, and Calhoun was even nearer death, but Webster was full of strength, and nourishing, as ever, his hope of the Presidency.

President Taylor, though a slave-holder, had no desire to aid the extension of slavery, and he determined that the new territories should have the freedom they desired. In his annual message he favored the imme-

diate admission of California, with its free Constitution, and as New Mexico would soon take the same course, he advised Congress to await their action and "abstain from introducing those sectional topics, which had produced such fearful apprehensions." These fears were not groundless; the South was talking boldly of secession; disunion was rife. Henry Clay, though a slaveholder, disliked slavery, but the Union was dearer to him than the cause of human rights, and alarmed at the defiant attitude of the South, he turned naturally to compromise as a means of reconciliation. Clay surely merited his title of "The Great Compromiser." On January 29, 1850, he introduced in the Senate a bill "to Secure the Peace, Concord and Harmony of the Union." This is the famous Compromise of 1850. It contained eight provisions: 1st, the admission of California with her free Constitution; 2d, as slavery did not exist by law, and was not likely to be introduced into any of the territories acquired from Mexico, territorial governments should be established by Congress without any restriction as to slavery; 3d, the boundary between Texas and New Mexico, which was in dispute, was determined; 4th, directed the payment of the public debt of Texas, contracted prior to the annexation, upon the condition that Texas relinquished her claim to any part of New Mexico; 5th, declared it was inexpedient to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia without the consent of Maryland, of the people of the District, and without just compensation to the owners of slaves; 6th, prohibited the slave *trade* in the District of Columbia; 7th, declared that more effectual provision should be made for the rendition of fugitive slaves; 8th, proclaimed that Congress had no power to interfere in the slave trade between the States. This measure conceded to the North

the admission of California as a free State, and the prohibition of the slave *trade* in the District of Columbia; while the South gained also two important points, a final defeat of the Wilmot Proviso and the passage of a fugitive slave law, which compelled the North to coöperate with it in the return of fugitive slaves to bondage.

On February 5th, and again on the 6th, Clay spoke in behalf of the Compromise. He was so feeble that he was obliged to request a friend's aid in mounting the steps of the Capitol. The friend suggested that he defer his speech, but Clay replied: "I consider our country in danger, and if I can be the means in any measure of averting that danger, my health and life are of little consequence." When he arose and faced the throng that crowded the Senate Chamber, he seemed inspired by the occasion and spoke with his usual eloquence and enthusiasm. He pleaded with the North for concession, and with the South for peace. He reminded the North that California would undoubtedly be admitted as a free State and New Mexico also, and begged them to be content and not insist on passing the Wilmot Proviso. He urged the South to be less defiant and to remember that the large additions of territory — Florida, Louisiana and Texas — had been for their benefit, inasmuch as they were slave States. He denied the right of any State to secede, and declared: "War and dissolution of the Union are identical... And such a war!... An effort to propagate a wrong! It would be a war in which we should have no sympathy, no good wishes, and in which all mankind would be against us, and in which our own history itself would be against us." When he finished his speech, so great was the enthusiasm, we are told, that "throngs of both sexes gathered around him to congratulate, and women kissed his face, unabashed by the throng of dis-

tinguished men who stood by." On March 4th, another crowded Senate listened to Calhoun's speech upon this measure; listened with unfeigned emotion, for all recognized it as the last effort of that brilliant mind. He was too weak to read or speak, and Senator Mason read the speech which had been most carefully prepared, while Calhoun, pale, emaciated, a wreck of his once brilliant self, sat immovable before the Speaker. "I have, Senators, believed from the first, that the agitation of the subject of slavery would, if not prevented by some timely and effective measure, end in disunion." "What a melancholy satisfaction," exclaims Von Holst, "for the man who, for nearly forty years, had been one of the brightest stars of the Federal Government ... thus to open his last speech." The speech was a striking and ingenious argument that the Union could be preserved only by the maintenance of an exact equilibrium between the North and the South and by the complete cessation of anti-slavery agitation. At its conclusion, Calhoun was supported from the Chamber; and thus closed the tragedy of a brilliant life; within the month he passed from earth.

On March 7th, Webster spoke. How eagerly the North had waited for her greatest orator to speak; and with what indignation she heard! Another great crowd packed the Senate Chamber, to hear what has become known as the "7th of March" speech, but which Webster named "For the Constitution and the Union." He began: "I wish to speak to-day, not as a Massachusetts man, nor as a northern man, but as an American... It is not to be denied that we live in the midst of strong agitations, and surrounded by very considerable dangers to our institutions and Government. The imprisoned winds are let loose. The East, the North, and the stormy South

combine to throw the whole sea into commotion, to toss its billows to the skies, and disclose its profoundest depths... I speak to-day for the preservation of the Union... Hear me for my cause!" He presented the whole question in his usual masterly manner, took Clay's position regarding the Wilmot Proviso, and like him *reproached* the North for its resistance to the fugitive-slave law, reminding them that "the article of the Constitution which says ... they shall deliver up fugitives from service is as binding in honor and conscience as any other article." He expressed the opinion that the abolition societies had produced nothing good or valuable. In depicting the impossibility of peaceable secession, he exclaimed: "He who sees these States now revolving in harmony around a common centre, and expects them to quit their places and fly off without convulsion, may look the next hour to see the heavenly bodies rush from their spheres and jostle against each other in the realms of space, without causing the wreck of the Universe." Here and there are fine dramatic passages, pleading for the preservation of the Union with passionate earnestness.

This speech produced a great sensation throughout the country. The South was naturally pleased, but the anti-slavery men at the North bitterly resented Webster's support of the fugitive-slave law. Horace Greeley, in the *New York Tribune,* was outspoken in disapproval, and Whittier wrote the poem "Ichabod" in grief for a fallen statesman. At a meeting in Faneuil Hall, called to condemn his course, Theodore Parker said: "The only reasonable way in which we can estimate this speech is as a bid for the Presidency." At *this* day, Webster is judged more justly. It was long claimed that his intense ambition for the Presidency had led him to take this step in expectation of win-

ning southern votes; but to a man who so thoroughly understood public opinion, it must have been evident that the loss of northern support would offset any southern gain. Mr. Rhodes says: "Webster's dislike of slavery was strong, but his love for the Union was stronger, and the more powerful motive outweighed the other, for he believed that the crusade against slavery had arrived at a point where its further prosecution was hurtful to the Union...; and he adds: "We *now* see that, in the War of the Rebellion, *his* principles were mightier than those of Garrison. It was not "No union with slave-holders," but it *was* "Liberty and Union" that won. Lincoln called the joint names his watchword, and it was not the Abolitionist, but the Union party, that conducted the war." In his devotion to the Union Webster never wavered. It was his God-given message to the people and he was faithful to his trust. Nevertheless most students would accept the verdict of Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge: "Nothing can acquit Mr. Webster of error in the methods which he chose to adopt for the maintenance of peace and the preservation of the Union... In the 7th of March speech he broke from his past, from his own principles, and from the principles of New England, and closed his splendid career with a terrible mistake."

There was one other great speech in this memorable debate. On March 11th, William H. Seward spoke, in opposition to the Compromise. He boldly attacked the fugitive-slave law. "I say to the slave States, you are entitled to no more stringent laws, and that such laws would be useless... Has any Government ever succeeded in changing the moral convictions of its subjects by force?... *We* reverence the Constitution, although we perceive this defect, just as we acknowledge the

splendor and the power of the sun, although its surface is tarnished with here and there an opaque spot. But there is a higher law than the Constitution." This allusion to the Divine law of right and justice was seized by northern men as the great moral answer to slavery's constitutional claims.

What was the attitude of the administration on this question? Before his inauguration Taylor had written to Jefferson Davis, his son-in-law, that he would not permit any encroachments by the North upon the slave-holding States. But he was an honest and patriotic man, and now, in the midst of events, he recognized that defiance and aggression were by the South rather than the North. When southern Hotspurs threatened a dissolution of the Union, the President answered that if it were necessary, he would take the field himself to enforce the laws of his country; and if these gentlemen were taken in rebellion against the Union, he would hang them with as little mercy as he had hanged deserters and spies in Mexico. "Disunion is treason," declared this brave old soldier.

During the spring John M. Clayton, Secretary of State, and Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, the British Minister, negotiated what is known as the "Clayton-Bulwer Treaty" which was signed at Washington April 19, 1850. It related to a proposed canal to be constructed across Nicaragua on the line of the San Juan River and a chain of lakes. This canal would form a waterway between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and the acquisition of California rendered the project most important to the United States. By the terms of the treaty both nations bound themselves to maintain the neutrality of the canal, whose passage should be open to the world, and to render all possible assistance to facilitate its construction. This

friendly agreement produced future irritation as England did not comply with its very first article, which declared that neither nation would ever erect fortifications commanding the canal, or exercise dominion over any part of Central America. England had previously established a protectorate over the Mosquito Coast, a portion of Eastern Nicaragua, and this she continued to maintain for ten years.

In Congress the debates dragged through weary months. The compromise measure had been reported back from committee, somewhat changed in form, but substantially the same as presented. Summer came, and yet nothing was settled; although, in the Senate, Clay still fought for his bill, notwithstanding the failure of his health from day to day.

On July 5th, the President was taken ill, and by the 9th all hope was abandoned. He died that evening. Having bade farewell to his wife and children, at the last he said distinctly: "I have always done my duty. I am ready to die." The North mourned deeply for this upright, honest and patriotic man. For the second time, death had placed a Vice-President in the President's chair. Fillmore was honest, patriotic and anti-slavery, but he lacked the firmness of the departed soldier.

In August, Congress, which had assembled the previous December and as yet accomplished nothing, proceeded to dispose of all the vexed questions by passing the sections of the Compromise Bill. On the 9th, the Senate passed a bill which settled the boundary between Texas and New Mexico, and gave to Texas $10,000,000 to relinquish her claim to further territory. It was in fact paying millions to induce her to lay aside civil war, as she was arming to assert her claims. On the 13th, the bill passed, admitting California with her free Con-

stitution. On the 15th, an ordinance was carried through, which established a territorial government for New Mexico, with the proviso that by permission of Congress this vast territory could be divided into future States, which should be admitted to the Union, *with or without slavery,* as their state Constitutions should prescribe. On the 26th, a new fugitive-slave law, for which the solid South voted, was passed. The compromise bills all went to the House, and after hot debates were carried through. On September 30 (1850), Congress adjourned after one of the longest and most contentious sessions on record. One episode will suffice to show how heated had been the debates. Senator Benton, though a life-long Democrat and a slave-holder, had little sympathy with the aggressive demands for the extension of slavery, and was consequently an object of hatred to the southern contingent. Senator Foote, of Mississippi, had addressed him in debate most insultingly on several occasions. At last, after a particularly offensive attack, Benton left his seat and advanced in a threatening manner toward his opponent, whereupon Foote sprang forward, leveled a revolver at him and cocked it. The surrounding Senators instantly restrained Benton and disarmed Foote, Benton exclaiming meanwhile: "I am not armed; I have no pistol; I disdain to carry arms; let him fire; stand out of the way, and let the assassin fire." A committee of investigation was ordered, which reported these facts; information which the Senate already possessed, but neglected to suggest any punishment for Mr. Foote, who failed to receive so much as a reprimand for leveling a loaded revolver at a fellow-member during a session of the Senate.

The new fugitive-slave law was one of the most infamous laws ever passed in the United States. Under its

provisions, the word of the claimant was sufficient to establish the identity of the negro, not even the affidavit of the owner was necessary. The testimony of the fugitive was denied. No process of law could molest the slave-owner, or his agent, after the ownership of the negro was determined. The United States marshals and deputies were required to make every exertion to execute the law, under penalty of a heavy fine. If the slave escaped, they were liable for his value. If any attempt was made to resist capture, all citizens were commanded to aid in the execution of the law. Any person who prevented the arrest of a slave, or attempted to rescue a fugitive, or should harbor or conceal such fugitive, could be fined $1,000, or be imprisoned for six months, and should further pay the owner $1,000 for each slave so lost. It was only the border States which suffered from the loss of slaves to any extent, and the fugitive-slave law of 1793, that passed in Washington's administration, was sufficient to protect their interests. This cruel law was pressed on by the South as a taunt to the anti-slavery sentiment of the North. But the North was glad of any settlement after the year's turmoil, and meetings were held to testify to their love for the Union and the Constitution, and their determination to abide by the compromise in good faith. New England even began to excuse Webster and restore him to favor. Enthusiastic meetings were held in the South, and harmony seemed once more to prevail throughout the land. Of course, in several northern cities, there were large gatherings of Abolitionists, where Charles Sumner and Theodore Parker thundered against the fugitive-slave law, and Wendell Phillips, the "silver-tongued orator," spoke with burning eloquence — but these were fanatics, said the peace party.

The main arguments advanced by those who respectively upheld or opposed the new fugitive-slave law can be briefly stated. At an immense mass-meeting in Chicago, in October, 1850, Stephen A. Douglas, in the midst of one of his most brilliant speeches, opened a copy of the Constitution of the United States and read this clause from Article IV: "No person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered upon claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due." "That," continued Douglas, "is the supreme law of the land. The command is imperative. There is no avoiding, no escaping the obligation, so long as we live under and claim the protection of the Constitution." He was asked by a person present: "Is not the surrender of fugitive slaves a violation of the law of God?" And, in replying, Douglas said: "If the Constitution of the United States is to be repudiated upon the ground that it is repugnant to the Divine law...who is the prophet to reveal the will of God and establish a theocracy for us? Is he to be found in the ranks of northern abolitionism, or of southern disunion?... For my part, I am prepared to maintain and preserve inviolate the Constitution as it is, with all its compromises; to stand or fall by the American Union, clinging with the tenacity of life to all its glorious memories of the past and precious hopes for the future." That was the strongest argument that could be advanced in favor of the law — it was sanctioned by the Constitution. "True," said its opponents, "a fugitive-slave clause is a part of that instrument, but the laws passed in conformity therewith set at naught the best principles of the Constitution, and the very laws of God."

Henry Ward Beecher declared returning a fugitive slave "comprises every offense it is possible for one man to commit against another. When we have ceased to pray; when we have rooted out the humanities;...when we have burned our Bibles and renounced our God, then we will join with those whose patriotism exhibits itself in disrobing men of every natural right, and driving them from light and religion into gross heathenism."

Lowell voiced this sentiment in glowing verse:

"Though we break our fathers' promise, we have nobler duties first;
The traitor to Humanity is the traitor most accursed.
Man is more than Constitutions; better rot beneath the sod,
Than be true to Church and State, while we are *doubly false to God;*
We owe allegiance to the State; but deeper, truer, more
To the sympathies that God hath set within our spirit's core.
Our country claims our fealty; we grant it so, but then
Before man made us citizens, great Nature made us men."

Perchance it may be said that this was asserting sentiment in opposition to law. But who can estimate the impelling force of sentiment? Emerson wrote: "In this Ship of Humanity, Will is the Rudder and Sentiment the Sail."

Those who are fully imbued with the more humane spirit of the present day, may marvel at southern determination to maintain an institution which is now condemned by the civilized world. But in order to correctly judge of any circumstance one must endeavor to consider it, not from his own standpoint, but from the special point of view afforded by its peculiar environment. Slavery, at the South, was no simple question to be determined upon strictly moral grounds; it was the most complex question that the nation had ever been called upon to solve, for it was interwoven with the whole social and political fabric of southern life. The wealth, and con-

sequent political power of the South, was thought to depend upon slave labor, for cotton was king. The planters believed fully what they stated: "The first and most obvious effect of the abolition of slavery would be to put an end to the cultivation of our great southern staple." But they were mistaken; the cotton crop of 1850 was over two million bales; that of 1891, under free labor, was over nine million bales, but this result would have seemed incredible to a planter of the old régime.

In 1850, there were over three hundred thousand slaveholders in the South, but among these were many who owned but few negroes. Of planters who owned fifty slaves or more, there were less than eight thousand. The South had, in fact, become an oligarchy, although an important division of the most democratic Republic the world has ever known. To the southern cotton-barons, emancipation meant loss of wealth, and the prospect is never pleasant; how much less so if there is an inborn contempt for labor. As the planters possessed ample leisure, they had always actively participated in political life; they were the wealthy and ruling class of a vast section; how bitter the loss of this importance and power! The South was not destitute of a conscience. Many a southern planter agreed with Henry Clay who said: "Slavery is a curse to the master and a wrong to the slave." But to be rid of the burden without being crushed by its fall seemed impossible; not only would they compass their own ruin but the destruction of their beloved South as well.

It is frequently stated that one of the most important causes that led to the success of the Republican party, the Anti-Slavery party about to arise at the North, was the revolution in public sentiment resulting from the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* in the summer of 1852,

Harriet Beecher Stowe's great book created an immense sensation. Within the year over three hundred thousand copies were sold in America alone. Having read it Rufus Choate remarked: "That book will make two millions of Abolitionists," and Sumner said in the Senate: "A woman inspired by Christian genius enters the lists, like another Joan of Arc, and with marvelous power, sweeps the chords of the popular heart."

1852 was the year of the Presidential election and in June the Democratic Convention met. As the more important names did not receive sufficient votes to elect, on the fifth day Franklin Pierce was brought forward and won on the forty-ninth ballot, being what is known as a "dark horse." He was not, however, the first of that peculiar breed, for James K. Polk was the first "dark horse" in American politics.

A few weeks later the Whigs met and nominated their last candidate for the Presidency. Their platform accepted the compromise and Rufus Choate brilliantly defended it. This extract is interesting in the light of subsequent events: "Extremists denounce all compromises ever... Do they forget that the Union is a compromise; the Constitution, social life; that the harmony of the Universe is but the music of compromise, by which the antagonisms of the infinite Nature are composed and reconciled? Let him who doubts — if such there be — whether it were wise to pass these measures, look back and recall with what instantaneous and mighty charm they calmed the madness and anxiety of the hour!" Not quite yet had the time come when the epitaph would be proposed: "Here lies the Whig party, which died of an effort to swallow the Fugitive-Slave Law."

Fillmore, Scott and Webster were the highest candidates and stood through fifty ballots, but on the fifty-

third the delegates broke ranks and General Winfield Scott received sufficient votes to secure the nomination. The result was a bitter disappointment to Webster, who saw the ruin of his dearest hopes. Saddened and depressed, overworked and suffering from nervous strain, by autumn he was ill, and on the 23d of October, 1852, passed from earth, facing death with dignity, courage and Christian trustfulness. In the previous June Henry Clay had died at Washington and the nation sincerely mourned the loss of these two great men, who had devoted their lives to her service.

CHAPTER XIX

PRESIDENCY OF FRANKLIN PIERCE

Franklin Pierce was elected by an overwhelming majority, the Whigs carrying but four States — Massachusetts, Vermont, Kentucky and Tennessee. He was inaugurated March 4, 1853. The country was very prosperous, the Whigs crushed by their recent defeat, and the Democratic party rejoiced in the reasonable expectation of ruling for many years to come. In the new Cabinet Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, was Secretary of War. As he was a man of literary culture and had been a United States Senator, he was well fitted to assume the southern leadership and he aspired to the wearing of Calhoun's mantle.

The President, in his first annual message, asserted that the compromise "had restored a sense of repose and security to the public mind." One month from the day on which Congress listened to this agreeable assurance, a bill was introduced in the Senate, which was to destroy all harmony and pave the way for civil war. On January 4, 1854, Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, presented a bill to establish a territorial government for Nebraska, which region was a part of the Louisiana purchase, lying north of the parallel 36° 30′ and consequently free territory, by the Missouri Compromise of 1820. By one section of the bill now presented, it was provided that when Nebraska should be admitted as a State, she should come into the

Union with or without slavery, as her Constitution should provide. As this was in direct violation of the law, Senator Dixon, of Kentucky, moved as an amendment "the repeal of the Missouri Compromise." The bill was sent to a committee and returned altered and amended, dividing Nebraska into two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, and containing a clause for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. "The object is not," exclaimed Douglas, "to admit or to exclude slavery, but to remove whatever obstacles Congress has placed in the way of it." The Compromise of 1850 decreed that "a territory shall become a State with or without slavery, as its Constitution prescribes," and this principle is inconsistent with a Congressional prohibition of slavery. It is intended to apply the prnciple of non-intervention to *all* our territories. This doctrine was now to be vaunted as "popular sovereignty," or, as it was often called, "squatter sovereignty." This bill set the North ablaze. The renewal of the slavery agitation was not initiated by the desire of the people, North or South, but to gratify the ambition of Stephen Arnold Douglas. New England placed a suggestive emphasis upon that second name; and yet the day was to come when this man, sinking the partisan in the patriot, was to render inestimable service to his country, in her hour of peril, by his active loyalty to the Union. Douglas ardently desired the Presidency. The vote of New England was irretrievably lost to him, but he could hope to carry the West, and to gain the South would assure success. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill was a bid for southern support. John Van Buren, of New York, a prominent Democratic leader, discussing the bill in a private letter, asked the question: "Could anything but a desire to buy the South at the Presidential shambles dictate such an outrage?" Douglas, who

was called "The Little Giant," was, like Clay, a born leader, and he now became the recognized head of the pro-slavery branch of the Democratic party. Horace Greeley once said: "Had Douglas been a hard student, it would have been difficult to set limits to his power." He was a brilliant speaker and most splendidly advocated his Kansas-Nebraska Bill. He met in opposition Charles Sumner, William H. Seward, Edward Everett and Salmon P. Chase, all men of culture and fine intellectual gifts, and all of New England birth except Seward, although Chase was identified with Ohio. Seward, ex-Governor of New York, had won renown in debate with Webster, Clay and Calhoun; and Everett an honored ex-President of Harvard College, had been Webster's successor as Secretary of State, in Fillmore's Cabinet. Charles Sumner was a man of noble aims, a statesman, scholar and man of the world. Handsome and stately, he was as admired in the society of London as in that of Boston. He formed one of that immortal group of poets and scholars who adorned the "Athens of America."

In the Kansas-Nebraska debate, these men made good their cause. Seward pleaded for "freedom and the public faith." "The slavery agitation," he said, "is an eternal struggle between conservatism and progress, between truth and error, between right and wrong. You may legislate and abrogate as you will, but there is a superior power that overrules all your actions and all your refusals to act, and, I fondly hope and trust, overrules them to the advancement of the greatness and glory of our country." Sumner spoke eloquently against the removal of the "landmarks of freedom." He arraigned the bill, in the name of public faith, as an infraction of solemn obligations, assumed beyond the power of recall

by the South, and in the name of freedom as an unjustifiable departure from the Anti-slavery policy of the fathers. "The country," he said, "is directly summoned to consider face to face a cause which is connected with all that is Divine in religion, with all that is pure and noble in morals, with all that is truly practical and constitutional in politics... Though long kept in check, it now, by your introduction, confronts the people, demanding to be heard. To every man in the land it says with clear, penetrating voice: 'Are you for freedom, or are you for slavery?' and every man in the land must answer this question when he votes."

Everett denied Douglas' assertion that the adoption of the Compromise Bill of 1850 annulled the Missouri Compromise Act. Chase vigorously attacked the clause repealing the compromise. He said: "What does slavery ask for now? It demands that a time-honored and sacred compact shall be rescinded;...a compact which has been universally regarded as inviolable, North and South; a compact, the constitutionality of which few have doubted and by which all have consented to abide... A large majority of southern senators voted for it; a majority of southern representatives voted for it. It was approved by all the southern members of the Cabinet, and received the sanction of a southern President;...and now the slave States propose to break up the compact without the consent and against the will of the free States." And he concluded by an appeal to the Senate to reject the bill before them, as "it is a violation of the plighted faith and solemn compact which our fathers made, and which we, their sons, are bound by every sacred tie of obligation sacredly to maintain."

While these men were eloquently contending in the Senate, a powerful press at the North sustained them.

Horace Greeley, of the *Tribune;* William Cullen Bryant, of the *Evening Post;* Henry J. Raymond, of the *Times;* Samuel Bowles, of the *Springfield Republican;* James Watson Webb, of the *Courier and Inquirer;* and Thurlow Weed, of the *Albany Journal,* all bore an important part in guiding public opinion. Throughout the northern States immense mass-meetings were held to protest against the extension of slavery. Legislatures of several northern States passed resolutions condemning the bill and memorials against the appeal of the Missouri Compromise were sent to the Senate; one bore the signatures of 3,050 of the New England clergy.

Douglas himself closed the debate in the Senate. It was an exciting scene. We are told that "Douglas, always a splendid fighter...seemed this night like a gladiator... Never in the United States Senate, in the arena of debate, had a bad cause been more splendidly advocated; never more effectively was the worse made to appear the better reason." The main point of his argument was this declaration: "The principle which we propose to carry into effect is this: That Congress shall neither legislate slavery into any territory or State, nor out of the same; but the people shall be left free to regulate their domestic concerns in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." In conclusion, he said: "I have not brought this question forward as a northern man, or as a southern man... I have nothing to say of northern rights, or southern rights. I know of no such divisions, or distinctions, under the Constitution. The bill does equal and exact justice to the whole Union... It violates the rights of no State or territory, but places each on a perfect equality and leaves the people thereof to the free enjoyment of all their rights under the Constitution." He spoke until daybreak and

the great audience remained until the close. At five o'clock in the morning the bill passed by a vote standing 37 to 14. The bill was sent to the House, where, by means of every Parliamentary device and assisted by the influence of the administration, it was passed after a fierce contest. Thomas H. Benton was one of its most bitter opponents. Benton, after serving for thirty years in the United States Senate, had failed of reëlection, the Missouri legislature disapproving of his anti-slavery sentiments, but undaunted, he appealed to his constituency and was returned to Congress as a Representative.

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill was signed by the President on May 30, 1854, whereupon Horace Greeley remarked: "Pierce and Douglas have made more Abolitionists in three months than Garrison and Phillips could have made in half a century." Five years later Douglas said: "I passed the Kansas-Nebraska Act myself. I had the authority and power of a dictator throughout the whole controversy in both Houses. The speeches were nothing. It was the marshalling and directing of men, and guarding from attack, and a ceaseless vigilance preventing surprise, that carried the measure."

Henry Wilson, in his book, "The Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America," closes the chapter on the "Abrogation of the Missouri Compromise," in these words: "Thus, after an excited and protracted debate of four months, in which the country was stirred to its profoundest depths, the plighted faith of the nation was broken and the landmarks of freedom were removed. A region of virgin soil, of fertility and beauty, consecrated by the solemn compact of the Government to freedom and free institutions, was opened wide to dominating masters and cowering slaves. That faithless act was consummated by the servility of northern men, who, seeing that

the Slave Power was supreme, were led to believe that its ascendency would outlast their day; and with that assurance they seemed content to bow to its behests and do its bidding. Simply selfish, ambitious and anxious to win, they were ready to disregard the rights of man, the enduring interests of the country, and the sacred claims of the Christian religion."

In addition to the agitation caused by the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, the excitement at the North was augmented by the arrests under the Fugitive Slave Law. The excitement culminated when Anthony Burns, a negro who had escaped three months before, was arrested in Boston on May 24, 1854. By the 26th the city was in a ferment. A great meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, at which Wendell Phillips spoke. "See to it," he said, "that tomorrow, in the streets of Boston, you ratify the verdict of Faneuil Hall, that Anthony Burns has no master but his God." The fugitive slave must be returned, as the law and the Constitution commanded, and every precaution was taken to prevent a rescue, on the occasion of his removal. A large body of police and twenty-two companies of Massachusetts soldiers lined the streets through which Burns must pass. The procession was composed of one United States Artillery Battalion, one Platoon of United States Marines, the Marshal's posse of 125 men guarding the negro, two Platoons of Marines, a field-piece, and another Platoon of Marines. The buildings on the line of march were draped in mourning; the American flag was shrouded in black. From a window opposite the old State-House was suspended a black coffin, on which were the words "The Funeral of Liberty." The solemn procession was witnessed by 50,000 people, and from them were heard hisses and groans, and cries of "Shame! Shame!" The fugitive was marched to the

wharf and placed on board a United States Revenue cutter, which sailed at once for Virginia. Rhodes says: "To this complexion had it come at last! In a community celebrated all over the world for the respect it yielded to law and for obedience to those clothed with authority...it now required, to execute the law, a large body of police, 1,140 soldiers, with muskets loaded... and furnished with a cannon, loaded with grape-shot."

Many northern States now passed personal liberty acts, which threw every difficulty in the way of the slave-catcher, and every assistance in the path of the fugitive; some of these laws came periously near nullification. To counteract these a bill was introduced in the Senate, to render ineffectual unfriendly legislation in northern States. Sumner offered, as an amendment, the repeal of the fugitive-slave law; but it received only nine votes, while the bill passed. This transaction is interesting, for it indicates the futility of any attempted curtailment of the slave power. Slavery, triumphant, ever aggressive, and asserting its constitutional claims, did but verify the words of John Quincy Adams: "Slavery constitutes the very axle around which the administration of the National Government revolves. All its measures of foreign or domestic policy are but radiations from that centre."

Southern expansionists now coveted the island of Cuba, so desirable for additional slave territory. The president, abetted by Jefferson Davis, approved of this design, but William L. Marcy was a conservative Secretary of State and prevented any overt act. The northern States, thoroughly aroused over the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, were determined against the acquisition of new slave territory. The President, yielding to the pressure of public opinion, on May 31, 1854, issued a proclamation of neutrality and of warning to those

engaging in any unlawful expedition against a friendly nation. This was directed against an expedition which was preparing, under the direction of ex-Governor Quitman, of Mississippi, for the invasion of Cuba. Complications arose and for a time relations with Spain were threatening.

In this season of turmoil and political change arose the Republican party. Gradually under its standard were united those of the Anti-Slavery faith, whether Whigs, Free-Soilers or Democrats. The Whigs were divided into two divisions known as "Cotton Whigs" and "Conscience Whigs," and a similar difference of opinion regarding slavery had disrupted the other parties. The Democrats objected to the use of the name Republican, considering it sacred to the founder of their own party, Thomas Jefferson. But they speedily dubbed them "Black Republicans," and this suggestion probably rendered the use of the name less obnoxious. Throughout the slave States the Democratic ranks were firm and united but they were losing ground at the North. German immigrants had largely settled in the States of Iowa and Wisconsin and were an important element in Ohio. Like the majority of foreigners, they had joined the Democratic party, but they were opposed to the extension of slavery and united with the Republicans. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill therefore made the Northwest Republican. It destroyed the Whig party and built up the Republican party on its ruins, and it led to the defeat of the Democratic party, which seemed so securely entrenched in power. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill has been called "the grossest political blunder in American history."

There were minor events that intensified the anti-slavery sentiment at the North. Every fugitive slave helped

on by the "Underground Railroad" not only excited sympathy for his sufferings, but for his wretched brothers in bondage. Undoubtedly there were many negroes who were more comfortably situated as slaves than they ever afterwards were as free men; but the evils inseparable from slavery all must admit. The "Underground Railroad" was composed of a chain of friends and houses of refuge for the fleeing negro, from Maryland through Pennsylvania and New York or New England to Canada, and from Kentucky and Virginia through Ohio to Lake Erie or the Detroit River. The houses were called stations, and arriving at the first station the fugitive was passed on to the next, until he finally gained his freedom under the British flag. Many well-known men and women were conductors and station-keepers on this silent line.

What is known as the "Kansas Conflict" resulted from the practical application of the doctrine of non-intervention. During the agitation over the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, one man recognized that this legislation, which was intended to extend slavery could be made equally effective for its restriction. Mr. Eli Thayer, of Massachusetts, proposed to make Kansas a free State by founding therein free labor towns. He organized the "Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society," drew up its charter, and carried it through the legislature of which he was a member. His efforts met with a hearty response, Charles Francis Adams, for instance, contributing $25,000 to the cause.

By the close of December, 1854, several hundred settlers had been sent west and societies for the same purpose were forming in other northern States. But pro-slavery men from Missouri had also entered Kansas in large numbers, and the doctrine of "popular sover-

eignty" presented an important question — which was the sovereignty? Determined to gain the territory for slavery on election day, March 30, 1855, a body of border ruffians from Missouri, heavily armed, marched into Kansas and overawing the authorities, cast a pro-slavery vote wherever they thought it needed; having given this neighborly assistance, they returned home in good spirits — it may be said with truth, full of spirits. They had cause for rejoicing, for in a territory containing 2,905 qualified voters their efforts had raised the vote cast to over 6,000. Political confusion reigned; at one time there were two governments in operation; a constant guerilla warfare existed varied by more severe combats; men went armed even to the plough. It was felt throughout the North that the slavery question was to be fought out on the soil of Kansas and the North began to respond to the call for munitions of war. Henry Ward Beecher said: "For the slave-holders of Kansas, the Sharp rifle was a greater moral agency than the Bible." At a great meeting held in a church at New Haven, seventy-nine emigrants enlisted for Kansas: Professor Silliman, of Yale, offered to donate a rifle, the clergyman of the church another, others followed and Beecher pledged Plymouth Church to furnish twenty-five. "Bleeding Kansas" was the theme of the northern Anti-Slavery press and was discussed at every fireside. A like excitement pervaded the South. Their press teemed with fiery articles and meetings were held throughout the cotton States, to raise money and enlist men for the support of the pro-slavery cause in the disputed territory. While northern men were making every effort in the cause of freedom, there were southern men quite as active for the advancement of slavery. Colonel Buford, of Alabama, sold his slaves to provide funds wherewith to fit

out a company of 280 emigrants for Kansas. Before leaving, they marched to a Protestant Church, where the clergyman invoked the Divine blessing on their enterprise and over 3,000 of their fellow-citizens gathered to cheer their departure. "Meanwhile the nation watched with nervous suspense the lurid tableaux of popular sovereignty in Kansas."

When Congress assembled in December, 1855, it was composed, to a large extent, of members elected on the Kansas issue. There was unprecedented difficulty in electing a Speaker of the House, the contest lasting for two months and then a decision was only arrived at by suspending the rule and permitting decision by a plurality vote. On the 133d ballot Nathaniel P. Banks was elected, which was a triumph for the anti-slavery division. The administration had given what aid and comfort it could to the pro-slavery party in Kansas and the matter was now presented to Congress, occasioning a bitter wrangle in that body. In March a committee was appointed to investigate the troubles in the State, but the administration of Pierce was not to witness a settlement of the difficulty. During the debates in Congress, Charles Sumner attacked slavery and southern methods for its extension, while Douglas defended them with his usual brilliancy.

On the 19th and 20th of May (1856) Sumner delivered a speech, afterward published under the title "The Crime Against Kansas," that crime being the continued effort to force slavery upon a territory which had been dedicated to freedom by the pledged word of the nation. He was perfectly fearless and in a bitter arraignment of South Carolina, made an equally severe attack upon Senator Butler of that State. Two days after this exciting debate, Sumner sat at his desk writing letters, the Senate

having adjourned after a short session. He was approached by Preston Brooks, a Representative from South Carolina, who, standing over him said: "I have read your speech twice over carefully. It is a libel on South Carolina and Mr. Butler, who is a relative of mine." Brooks carried a heavy cane and as he ceased speaking struck Sumner a blow upon the head. Dazed by the blow and pinned down by the desk, he could make no effective resistance, and Brooks rained blows upon the head of the defenseless man, until the cane broke and Sumner fell to the floor unconscious and bleeding. The blows would have killed a man of less strength, but the Senator's iron constitution enabled him to rally. For over three years he submitted to treatment from celebrated physicians in America and Europe and finally regained a fair degree of health but never his former vigor. During these years his vacant chair in the Senate spoke more eloquently than any words, for he had been promptly reëlected on the expiration of his term, Massachusetts voluntarily submitting to the consequent loss of power and influence.

This dastardly attack aroused deep resentment throughout the North. The South sustained Brooks and justified his conduct in thus, as they claimed, avenging the insult to his kinsman and vindicating the honor of his State. The *Richmond Inquirer* remarked: "We trust other gentlemen will follow the example of Mr. Brooks, so that a curb may be imposed upon the truculence and audacity of abolition speakers. By this means," the writer declared, "they will soon learn to behave themselves like decent dogs — they can never be gentlemen." The House of Representatives appointed a committee of investigation, which reported in favor of Brooks' expulsion; a vote to that effect failed to pass

the House, only one southern Representative voting to expel. Brooks thereupon resigned and his district at once reëlected him, his opponent receiving but six votes.

About this time the news arrived from Kansas that the town of Lawrence had been destroyed by a pro-slavery mob. A bitter cry went up from the North; one of her noblest Representatives had been struck down in the Senate Chamber, and the city dedicated to freedom was laid waste! These outrages greatly strengthened the new Republican party, which was politically important, as 1856 was the year of a Presidential election.

The Republicans nominated for the Presidency John C. Fremont, and the Democrats James Buchanan. Both men were selected as available candidates, for neither had been actively identified with the great question of the hour and might be trusted to appeal to doubting voters. Buchanan, at this time, was Minister to England. Fremont, a son-in-law of Thomas H. Benton, was well-known for his explorations in the Rocky Mountains, where his adventures had won him the sobriquet of "The Pathfinder." The Republican platform asserted: "It is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery." The Democratic platform upheld the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, pledged a faithful execution of the fugitive-slave law, and condemned all agitation of the slavery question.

A new party, or rather, a revival of an old one, entered into this campaign. In 1852 the Native American party was revived as a secret fraternity. When questioned regarding their aims and principles they replied: "I know nothing"; and this non-committal answer soon gave them the name of "Know-Nothings"; but it

was well understood that like their predecessors, they objected to Roman Catholics and foreign-born citizens obtaining political power. The Know-Nothings finally adopted the name of the American party and the motto "America for the Americans." The vote of the ignorant, foreign-born citizen was then, as now, a serious danger, but an equal menace to free institutions was a vast, secret, political organization. The religious prejudice was not only bigoted but opposed to the letter and spirit of the Constitution. The American party, however, was strong enough in 1856 to nominate Millard Fillmore for the Presidency.

In this campaign so decidedly was the North arrayed against the South that the cry was raised of a "Geographical Campaign," and the danger to the Union of section pitted against section. In the North a noble following marched under the Republican banner. Professors of Yale and Harvard, Emerson, Longfellow, Holmes, N. P. Willis, Washington Irving, Whittier, and Bryant all took part in the campaign, and George William Curtis delivered his fine oration on the "Duty of the American Scholar to Politics and the Times." Clergymen preached against slavery extension, while the ablest religious paper of the day, the *Independent,* urged its readers to vote for Fremont, saying: "Fellow-citizens, remember it is for Christ, for the nation, and for the world that you vote at this election. Vote as you pray! Pray as you vote!" Presuming, evidently, that all its praying subscribers were Republicans.

But their triumph was not yet. Buchanan was elected. The Democrats carried Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana, Illinois, California, and all the slave States except Maryland. Maryland cast her vote for Fillmore and the eight votes of this State were all the ballots that Fillmore

received in the Electoral College. The Democrats elected a majority of the next House of Representatives. The Republican popular vote, however, was so large that their outlook for the future was hopeful.

CHAPTER XX

PRESIDENCY OF JAMES BUCHANAN.

Prior to a consideration of the four years which precede the most important epoch in the nation's history and those events which presage the terrible calamity of civil war, it is well briefly to review the administrations referred to as the one-term rule of lesser men between the great presidents, Jackson and Lincoln.

Jackson set an iron heel upon the doctrine of nullification and stamped out that state-rights heresy. His successor, Martin Van Buren, encountered a financial gale that shipwrecked his hope for a second term. Harrison's successor, Tyler, and the next regularly elected President, Polk, were both southern men, and by their efforts furthered the plans of the South for the extension of slavery, by pressing on the Mexican War. By the time of Taylor's inauguration, the South was again threatening secession, as in Jackson's day, and Clay's measure, the Compromise of 1850, was an attempt to pacify both sections, by admitting California, with her free Constitution, as the North demanded, and by defeating the Wilmot Proviso, as a concession to the South. President Taylor, though a southern slave-holder, was not afraid to call secession treason. His death placed Fillmore, who was able, honest and conservative, in the Executive Chair. He signed the Compromise, but the Fugitive Slave Law aroused such deep resentment throughout the North that Fill-

more's reputation suffered in consequence. He undoubtedly believed, as did Webster, that the Compromise would avert a terrible catastrophe.

Franklin Pierce was a northern man, but owned and controlled by the slave power which became, day by day, more arrogant and ambitious: and we are now to find another northern President — Buchanan, equally subservient to the same influence. Slavery, in Jackson's day a local institution, had now become of national importance. Upon this question the country was divided into North and South by an almost geographical line. The South stood triumphant, with its candidate in the Executive Chair, but mindful of Fremont's popular vote, it announced its determination to secede from the Union, should the North ever elect a Black Republican to the Presidency. To such a pass had slavery brought a nation, the most prosperous and democratic in the world!

Blaine, in his book *Twenty Years in Congress,* thus explains the situation: "If the slave-holders could maintain their supremacy in the Union, they would prefer to remain. If they were to be out-voted, and, as they thought, outraged by free-state majorities, then they would break up the Government and form a Confederacy of their own... The design was audacious, but from the standpoint of the men who were committed to it, it was not illogical. Their entire industrial system was founded upon an institution which was bitterly opposed in the free States. They could see no way, and they no longer desired to see a way, by which they might rid themselves of the servile labor which was at once their strength and their weakness. To abandon the institution was to sacrifice four thousand millions of property specially protected by law. It was for the existing generation of the governing class in the South to vote them-

selves into bankruptcy and penury. Far beyond this, it was, in their judgment, to blight their land with ignorance and indolence, to be followed by crime and anarchy. Their point of view was so radically different from that held by a large number of northern people that it left no common ground for action, — scarcely, indeed, an opportunity for reasoning together. In the South, they saw and felt their danger, and they determined, at all hazards, to defend themselves against policies which involved the total destruction of their social and industrial fabric. They were not mere malcontents; they were not pretenders; they did not aim at small things; they had ability and they had courage. They had determined upon mastery within the Union, or a Continental Empire outside of it."

Slavery now received most important encouragement and assistance from an unexpected quarter — the United States Supreme Court.

Dred Scott, of Missouri, was a negro slave, who accompanied his master, a surgeon in the regular army, during his residence at the army post at Fort Snelling in Minnesota Territory. Returning to Missouri, after an absence of four years, he, with his wife and children, was sold to a new master. Thereupon Scott sued, in a St. Louis court, to obtain his freedom, alleging that his residence in a territory where slavery had been prohibited by the Missouri Compromise had made him of right a free man. The decision was in his favor; but his owner appealed to a higher court, and obtained a reversal of the decree; and finally the case was carried before the United States Supreme Court, at Washington. That body consisted then, as now, of a Chief-Justice and eight associates. Five of these men were from the slave States. The names of Taney and Curtis arise at any mention of

this famous case. Chief-Justice Taney belonged to an old Maryland family. He was a man of broad culture and pure life; a clear thinker, with an accurate knowledge of law. He had been Attorney-General under Jackson and by him appointed a Justice of the Supreme Court. Upon the death of Chief-Justice Marshall, Jackson further honored Taney by advancing him to the vacant position, in 1836, and he presided over the Court until 1864, a period of twenty-eight years.

Justice Curtis was a cultivated Bostonian, of pure and upright life, a graduate of Harvard, and an impartial judge, of whom it was said: "His reasoning was clear to laymen and a delight to lawyers."

Taney and Curtis were the chief exponents of the conflicting opinions of the Court, when, on March 6th, two days after Buchanan's inauguration, a decision was finally rendered in the case of Dred Scott. The negro, battling for freedom, became of slight importance in comparison with the political and constitutional arguments for which he served as a pretext. The principal question related to his assumption of citizenship, as evidenced by his suing in a court of law. Could a negro, whose ancestors had been sold as slaves, become a citizen of one of the States of the Union? If not, then Dred Scott had no standing in a United States Court, and must be remanded to slavery. Chief-Justice Taney delivered the opinion of a majority of the Court, and answered: "No."

"Negroes were not intended to be included under the word 'citizen' in the Constitution, and can therefore claim none of the rights and privileges which that instrument provides for and secures to citizens of the United States. On the contrary, they were at that time considered as a subordinate and inferior class of beings, who

had been subjugated by the dominant race, and, whether emancipated or not, yet remained subject to their authority, and had no rights or privileges but such as those who held the power and the Government might choose to grant them... It is not the province of the Court to decide the justice or injustice of these laws... The decision of that question belongs...to those who framed the Constitution... In the opinion of the Court neither the class of persons who had been imported as slaves, nor their descendants, whether they had become free or not, were then acknowledged as a part of the people, nor intended to be included in the general words used in that memorable instrument... They had, for more than a century before, been regarded as beings of an inferior order and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior that *they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect;* and that the negro might justly and lawfully be reduced to slavery, for his benefit. He was bought and sold, and treated as an ordinary article of merchandise and traffic... The Constitution, therefore, did not acknowledge that race as belonging to the 'people of the United States.' On the adoption of the Constitution the right of naturalization was, with one accord, surrendered by the States, and confided to the Federal Government ...and no law of a State, passed since the Constitution was adopted, can give any right of citizenship outside of its own territory."

Having decreed, in the name of the Court, that Dred Scott could not sue at his bar, having no rights of citizenship, there was really nothing further to consider. But pressure had been brought to bear upon the southern judges, who, though honest and upright men, were yet susceptible to the pro-slavery influences of their environ-

ment. It had been represented to them that to affirm, by a decision of the highest tribunal, the principles of "popular sovereignty" in the territories, would set at rest all discussion of the vexed question. Chief-Justice Taney was induced to believe that the Court had now the power and opportunity of settling the slavery question; so he and the southern judges added a political argument and decision, where a judicial decree alone was called for. Dred Scott had based his claim for freedom upon the fact of residence in territory made free by the Missouri Compromise of 1820. The Court now proceeded to rule upon the question: "Was Congress authorized to pass the Missouri Compromise Act, under any of the powers granted to it by the Constitution?" The Chief-Justice stated that the Louisiana purchase had been acquired for the common benefit of the people of the United States. It is guaranteed in an amendment to the Constitution that no person shall be deprived of his property without due process of law. "The right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution of the United States." "No word can be found in the Constitution which gives Congress a greater power over slave property, or which entitles property of that kind to *less* protection than property of any other description." This adroit argument concluded thus: "It is the opinion of the Court that the act of Congress, which prohibited a citizen from holding and owning property of this kind in the territory of the United States, north of the line therein mentioned, is not warranted by the Constitution, and is therefore void." A natural inference from this conclusion was that the Constitution granted the right and power to hold slaves anywhere within the Union. The decision, as rendered by Chief-Justice Taney, received the assent of two-thirds

of the Court. Curtis and McLean dissented from the opinion given, and the following is a brief quotation from Curtis's able argument. In reply to the assertion that "no person of African descent, whose ancestors were sold as slaves in the United States, can be a citizen of the United States," he said: "Citizens of the United States, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, can have been no other than citizens of the United States under the Confederation." "At the time of the ratification of the Articles of Confederation, all free, native-born inhabitants of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and North Carolina, though descended from African slaves, were not only citizens of those States, but such of them as had the other necessary qualifications possessed the franchise of electors on equal terms with other citizens." They "were not only included in the body of 'the people of the United States, by whom the Constitution was ordained and established, but, in at least five of the States, they had the power to act, and doubtless did act, by their suffrages, upon the question of its adoption." That fact would appear to settle the point beyond doubt, for the ballot is the insignia of citizenship. By this conclusion, the negro could not only be classed as a citizen, but was entitled to all the rights and privileges of citizenship under the law.

In considering the power of Congress to prohibit slavery in the territories, Justice Curtis cited many instances to prove that Congress had, since the time of Washington, exercised such jurisdiction. After every phase of the subject had been discussed, he stated his opinion that the acts of Congress, which had prohibited slavery in the territories, including the Missouri Compromise, "were constitutional and valid laws."

In the Supreme Court, as in all other bodies, the majority rules, and Chief-Justice Taney had pronounced the law. Rhodes says: "Taney sinned as a Judge. He is not to be blamed for embracing the political notions of...Calhoun; his environment gave that shape to his thoughts; but he does deserve censure because he allowed himself to make a political argument, when only a judicial decision was called for."

The South was now jubilant, for had not the whole question of slavery been settled in their favor? The highest tribunal had declared that slaves were as much entitled to protection as any other species of property, and that it was unconstitutional for Congress to decree freedom for a territory of the United States. What more could the slave power desire? Meanwhile, the North was filled with scorn and indignation. But more unfortunate than all else was the blow dealt the popular confidence in the integrity of the Supreme Court.

When the nominations for Buchanan's Cabinet were made known, the North realized that they had little to expect from the new administration. Lewis Cass, of Michigan, was made Secretary of State; Howell Cobb of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury; John B. Floyd of Virginia, Secretary of War; Isaac Toucey of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy; Jacob Thompson of Mississippi, Secretary of the Interior; Aaron V. Brown of Tennessee, Postmaster-General; and Jeremiah S. Black of Pennsylvania, Attorney-General. Of the seven men, four were from slave States, and two of the three northern men were well-known to be southern sympathizers. But the Republicans, though defeated, rallied in support of their anti-slavery principles. They circulated copies of Justice Curtis's opinion, and felt that his arguments had entirely refuted those of the Chief-Justice. Stephen A.

Douglas, the popular leader of the Democracy, made Taney's argument familiar on the stump, and twenty thousand copies of the opinion were printed, by order of the United States Senate.

In June, 1857, Abraham Lincoln replied to Douglas in a public speech. Asserting that the condition of the black man was now worse than at the time of the Declaration of Independence and the adoption of the Constitution, he said: "In those days, our Declaration of Independence was held sacred by all and thought to include all; but now, to aid in making the bondage of the negro universal and eternal, it is assailed and sneered at, and construed and hawked at, and torn, till, if its framers could rise from their graves, they would not at all recognize it. Douglas finds the Republicans insisting that the Declaration of Independence includes all men, black and as well as white; and forthwith he boldly denies that it includes negroes at all, and proceeds to argue gravely that all who contend it does, do so only because they want to vote, and eat, and sleep and marry with the negroes. Now I protest against the counterfeit logic which concludes that, because I do not want a black woman for a slave, I must necessarily want her for a wife. I need not have her for either; I can just leave her alone. In some respects, she is certainly not my equal; but in her natural right to eat the bread she earns with her own hands, without asking leave of any one else, she is my equal and the equal of all others." At the present time the amalgamation question may seem rather absurd, but in the heated political discussions of that day it was quite usual for a Black Republican to be asked: "Do you wish your daughter to marry a negro?"

There were three minor causes which had an important influence upon public opinion during the administration

of Buchanan. These were the panic of 1857, the renewed efforts of the South to obtain possession of Cuba, and their attempt to re-open the foreign slave trade.

The panic of 1857 was caused by an unstable banking system; excessive speculation; over-investment, particularly in the building of railways; and an inflated credit. It was said: "The West owed the East, the interior owed the Atlantic seaboard, and the Atlantic seaboard owed Europe." There were the usual results following a severe panic. Thousands of men were thrown out of employment, and the distress was deep and widespread. However innocent of *occasioning* business depression, the administration in power is always blamed for the "hard times." Buchanan, in his annual message, December, 1858, requested an appropriation for the purchase of Cuba, and Senator Slidell promptly introduced a bill to furnish the President with $30,000,000 for that purpose. Spain naturally was astonished and indignant at this proposal and declared it an insult, while the Cortes, amid enthusiastic cheers, unanimously voted "to support the Government in preserving the integrity of the Spanish domain." The prospect of a foreign war did not deter the Senate from attempting to pass the Slidell bill, and a bitter wrangle ensued. Northern Senators plainly expressed their contempt and hatred of this new attempt at slavery extension, while southern Senators retorted with equal heat and much jingo sentiment. Finding that there was no possibility of passing the bill through the House, it was withdrawn.

The South, at this time, was very prosperous. Immense crops demanded an increase of laborers. The price of negroes rose rapidly and became extravagant, and longing eyes were turned to Africa, whence a constant supply of cheap labor could be obtained, did not

the stringent laws against the foreign slave trade prevent. As it was, negroes were extensively smuggled into the country, for "Slavers" crept into southern harbors and landed their wretched freight, the authorities being conveniently blind to this violation of the law. The press of that section began to openly advocate the repeal of the laws prohibiting the African slave trade, and at state conventions and other large political meetings resolutions to the same effect were presented. It was asserted that the South had as much right to obtain from Africa the labor suited to her peculiar conditions as the North had to encourage immigration from Europe, whereby she gained farm-hands and factory operatives. Mr. Gaulden, of Georgia, said before the Charleston Convention, in 1860, in a speech which was extensively circulated at the North: "I am one of those southern men who believe that slavery is right, morally, religiously, socially and politically. I believe that the institution of slavery has done more for this country, more for civilization, than all other interests put together... I would ask my friends of the South to come up in a proper spirit, ask our northern friends to give us *all* our rights, take off the ruthless restrictions which cut off the supply of slaves from foreign lands... That African slave trade...goes to Africa and brings a heathen and worthless man here, makes him a useful man, christianizes him, and sends him and his posterity down the stream of time to enjoy the blessings of civilization... I believe that the African slave-trader is a true missionary and a true Christian." It is somewhat surprising to find slavery, like abolitionism, asserting a moral claim. An African slave-trader, as a Christian missionary, is a unique figure among the world's propagandists.

We are now to read the last page in the Kansas con-

flict, and shall find Stephen A. Douglas, whose doctrine of "popular sovereignty" had created the difficulty, voting with the Republicans against the associates of a lifetime. What had occasioned, within so brief a period, this surprising change of policy, in the great Democratic leader? The explanation is found in an account of the struggle over the Lecompton Constitution. Buchanan had appointed, as Governor of Kansas, Robert J. Walker, an able and upright man, long identified with Mississippi, though of northern birth. He went to his post, determined to see fair play and to enforce what he considered the true construction of the Kansas-Nebraska Act — the submission of the people to any Constitution framed by the majority. Walker was a Democrat, and would have preferred that Kansas should be a slave State, but he was a fair-minded man and soon realized that the free-state party greatly outnumbered the pro-slavery contingent. Shortly after his arrival there was an election for delegates to attend a convention, called for the purpose of framing a state Constitution. Governor Walker urged upon all citizens the necessity of voting, but the free-state men, disheartened by their previous experience, determined to reject this sensible advice. In consequence, pro-slavery delegates were elected, who met at Lecompton in June, 1857, but adjourned until the autumn. As the months passed, the free-state party became convinced of the Governor's honesty of purpose, and they participated in the October election for members of the legislature, with the result that the free-state party carried the day by a large majority, elected the delegate to Congress and a large proportion of the legislature. There were two attempts at fraud. In one district, called Oxford, containing but eleven houses and less than fifty voters, 1,624 pro-slavery votes were returned. It was

afterward discovered that the names of these mythical voters had simply been copied, in alphabetical order, from an old Cincinnati directory. Another district, which had not twenty voters, reported the liberal allowance of 1,266 pro-slavery votes. Such glaring frauds aroused the indignation of the Governor, and he promptly threw out the returns. There was no doubt that the State of Kansas was overwhelmingly in favor of freedom, and this was not only highly displeasing to the South, but to the President and the Cabinet as well. Governor Walker, who had acted honestly by the people, was now made to feel this displeasure, and in consequence resigned his office after seven months' incumbency. The adjourned Lecompton Convention met in October, and proceeded to draft a state Constitution in the interest of slavery, but not venturing to submit the Constitution to the people, which would be simply to invite defeat, they hit upon a clever device. They decreed that the people were to vote upon the Constitution with slavery, or the Constitution without slavery; no one could vote against the Constitution. The reason for this was apparent; the Constitution contained a clause, which stated that "the right of property in slaves now in this territory shall in no measure be interfered with"; so that the Constitution with no slavery would make that institution perpetual, as to slaves then in the territory and their offspring. The *Charleston Mercury* correctly understood the situation, when it remarked of the slavery clause: "Whether it is voted out, or voted in, slavery exists, and has a guarantee in the Constitution that it shall not be interfered with." One writer remarks: "The alternative presented was like submitting to the ancient test of witchcraft... If the accused, upon being thrown into deep water, floated, he was adjudged guilty, taken out and

hanged; but if he sank and was drowned, he was adjudged not guilty, — the choice between the verdicts being quite immaterial."

The Lecompton Convention appointed December 21, 1857, election day. The indignant free-state men refused to vote, and clamored for another election, at which the Constitution, as a whole, should be submitted to the people. In compliance with this demand, the legislature appointed an election to be held January 4, 1858. The returns are interesting. At the December election, they stood: For the Constitution, with slavery, 6,226; for the Constitution, without slavery, 569. Investigation showed that 2,820 of these votes were fraudulent. At the January election the vote stood: For the Constitution with slavery, 138; for the Constitution without slavery, 24; against the Constitution, 10,226. When the trickery of the Lecompton Constitution became known, there was great indignation throughout the North, and this was soon expressed upon the floor of the Senate. The Lecompton Constitution had been promptly forwarded to the President, and in his annual message, December 8, 1857, it was warmly endorsed, the arguments brought forward being based upon the principles promulgated in the Dred Scott decision. On the following day, Douglas took occasion to reply, and most severely denounced the Lecompton scheme. "Neither the North, nor the South," he said, "has the right to gain a sectional advantage by trickery or fraud... If Kansas wants a slave-state Constitution, she has a right to it. If she wants a free-state Constitution, she has a right to it. It is none of my business which way the slavery clause is decided. I care not whether it is voted down, or voted up... Have a fair election, and you will have peace in the Democratic party and peace throughout the country, in ninety days. The

people want a fair vote. They will never be satisfied without it." He declared that the plan of the Lecompton election would be as fair as that attributed to Napoleon, when he said to his troops: "Now, my soldiers, you are to go to the election and vote freely, just as you please. If you vote for Napoleon, all is well; vote against him, and you are to be instantly shot." "That was a fair election! This election is to be equally fair," exclaimed Douglas; and he added: "If this Constitution is to be forced down our throats, in violation of the free principles of free Government, under a mode of submission that is a mockery and insult, I will resist it to the last." Douglas' attitude created great excitement. The southern Democrats and northern pro-slavery men of that party were furious against him; his old opponents, the Republicans, greatly pleased.

During an animated interview with the President, Buchanan told him "to remember that no Democrat ever yet differed from an administration of his own choice without being crushed." "Mr. President," Douglas retorted, "I wish you to remember that General Jackson is dead." After that, it was open war. Douglas was a man of honor, and was indignant that the principles of popular sovereignty, to which he stood pledged, should be thus ruthlessly violated.

When the result of the election of December 21 was ascertained, the pro-slavery party proclaimed the Lecompton Constitution *with* slavery adopted, and on February 2, 1858, Buchanan submitted it to Congress with a special message favoring the admission of Kansas as a State, under the Constitution presented. A hot debate followed. Jefferson Davis ably represented the extreme section of the South. He said: "We are arraigned day after day as the aggressive power. What southern Sen-

ator, during the whole session, has attacked any portion or any interest of the North? In what have we, now or ever, back to the earliest period of our history, sought to deprive the North of any advantage it possessed? The whole charge is, and has been, that we seek to extend our own institutions into the common territory of the United States."

Douglas now fought on the anti-slavery side, and traitor and renegade were terms that but mildly expressed the resentment of his former friends and allies. But the West enthusiastically supported him, and the East admired his courage and acknowledged his great ability. In spite of his splendid generalship, the bill passed the Senate on March 23, 1858, by a vote that stood 33 to 25. Douglas of course voted with the Republicans, as did two other Democrats. The bill went to the House, where it occasioned active hostilities. During an all-night session, a slightly intoxicated Congressman designated a brother Representative as a "Black Republican Puppy," and in the contention that followed, some thirty members engaged in a battle royal on the floor of the House, thus demonstrating, to their own satisfaction, their superiority to the animal mentioned. No one was injured, but such an encounter was not particularly soothing to over-excited feeling, nor especially dignified in a national assembly. As no agreement could be reached, on April 1, 1858, an amendment was offered, which provided that the Lecompton Constitution should be submitted to a vote of the people of Kansas. If assented to, Kansas should become a State on the proclamation of the President; if rejected, the inhabitants of the territory were empowered to form a Constitution and state Government. This promised a just settlement of the question, and it was adopted by the House. But the Senate would not ac-

cept it, and asked for a committee of conference. This committee presented what is known as the English Bill, an infamous compromise proposed by William H. English, a Representative from Indiana. This was agreed to, passed both Houses, and was signed by the President. Douglas voted against it. The English Bill offered to Kansas a large grant of Government lands, and the acceptance or rejection of these lands was to be voted on by the people of the territory. If a majority voted for acceptance, Kansas was to be admitted into the Union, under the Lecompton Constitution, by proclamation of the President. If the people rejected the land grant, then Kansas could not be admitted as a State until her population equalled the ratio required for a Representative in Congress, which at that time was 94,000. This dishonorable and degrading bill, which was soon dubbed "Lecompton, Jr.," was a gigantic bribe to the harassed people of that territory. The election was ordered for August 3, 1858, and the Kansas citizens, by a majority of 9,500, refused the land grant and the Lecompton Constitution, electing to remain outside the Union until they could honorably enter it.

The free-state party, now confident of ultimate success, called a convention to meet at Wyandotte, in March, 1859. A free-state Constitution was there framed, submitted to the people, at an election held in the following October, and ratified by 4,000 majority. This Constitution was presented to Congress in February, 1860, accompanying a bill for the admission of Kansas as a State. The House voted to admit, but the Senate refused. In 1861 she again applied for statehood, and on the day that Jefferson Davis and his southern colleagues abandoned their seats in the Senate, to take part in rebellion against the Government, Kansas was voted into the Union, a free

State (January 29, 1861). No other State, before or since, ever experienced such difficulty in entering the Federal bond.

There now rises into national prominence a man, destined for all time to be the hero of this epoch. We are all familiar with the tall, awkward figure, the plain features, the intensely sad face of Abraham Lincoln. We have all read of his early struggles with poverty; his rail-splitting, store-keeping, and work as a Mississippi boatman. We know how he labored to gain an education and a knowledge of law, and that he never studied an English grammar until he was past twenty-one. Who shall say that romance is dead, the life of our day commonplace, when this man of the people could step forward and carry for four years the weight of a nation upon his shoulders, as Atlas of old upheld the earth? Through days of doubt and gloom, of defeat and of victory, he ever displayed a true patriotism and an elevated statesmanship that command the admiration of the world. His address at Gettysburg and his second inaugural address are considered masterpieces of English prose. Through the lucid thought, the pure English and the beauty of expression, shine the moral grandeur, the tenderness of the man, and to these the great heart of America responded.

We shall only consider this great American in that short but glorious career for which up to this date, 1858, his whole life had been a preparation. He had become a well-known lawyer in his own State, had served in the Legislature, and for one term in Congress, when he gained a national reputation through the Lincoln-Douglas debates (1858). Douglas' term as Senator was about to expire, and Lincoln was put forward by the Republicans to contest his reëlection. Both men determined to stump

the State of Illinois as Senatorial candidates. During this canvass were held seven joint debates, each restricted to three hours' time, divided between the contestants. As no hall could possibly accommodate the thousands of eager listeners, the debates were held in the afternoons, out-of-doors, in a grove or upon the prairie. The burning question of the day — slavery, was the only subject considered, and thus the great audience who listened, and the still greater audience to whom the press reported the proceedings, received a political education seldom obtainable. Lincoln's first speech was a bold utterance. Here at last was a man who had the courage of his convictions, and dared to put into words that which far-seeing men were beginning to recognize, but were loath to admit. He said: "'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half-slave and half-free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the House to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the future spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, north as well as south." Again, in one of the debates, he said: "It is the eternal struggle between these two principles — right and wrong — throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time, and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity, and the other the Divine right of kings. It is the same principle, in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says: 'You work and toil and earn bread, and I'll eat it.' No matter

in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king, who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle." Four months later, William H. Seward, in an address at Rochester, New York (October 25, 1858), forcibly expressed the same idea in a sentence that became famous: "It is an irrepressible conflict."

Douglas, although he had voted with the Republicans in opposition to the Lecompton Constitution, did not do so to oppose the extension of slavery, but because he was ever faithful to the principles of his Kansas-Nebraska Bill. As Lincoln and Douglas thrust and parried, this marvelous fencing-match was watched with deepest interest by the nation. The prize was awarded by the legislature in the following January. Douglas received every Democratic vote — 54, and Lincoln every Republican vote — 46. Douglas was therefore returned to the United States Senate, but Lincoln, though defeated, had become a prospective candidate of the Republican party for the Presidency.

In the autumn of 1859 occurred a most extraordinary episode. American history has not lacked political sensations, but there has been nothing more dramatic than John Brown's invasion of Virginia. John Brown was a native of Connecticut, but passed his youth and early manhood in Ohio. He gained sufficient knowledge of slavery in that border State to make him an abolitionist at the age of twelve when "he swore eternal war on slavery." This early vow was faithfully kept, although many years were to pass before he could strike a direct blow. Meanwhile he became a tanner, a land surveyor, a lumber dealer and a wool-grower. Twice married, he

was the father of nineteen children. His failure in the wool trade appears to have cleared the way for his life work, for after that disaster he retired to North Elba, New York, where Gerritt Smith, the philanthropist, had set apart a portion of his extensive property as a settlement for free colored people. John Brown decided to go with his family and live among these negroes as a friend and adviser. It was in this Adirondack retreat that news was received of the Kansas Conflict. Four of Brown's sons had settled in that unfortunate territory. Rifle in hand, he went to their assistance and engaged actively in an offensive campaign against the pro-slavery roughs and their allies, the border ruffians from Missouri. He became a grim figure amid those lurid scenes and suffered deeply for the cause of freedom; his house was burned to the ground; one of his sons was crippled for life, the result of a wound; another was taken prisoner and rendered insane by the treatment received from his captors; and his son Frederick was murdered and his mutilated body left lying by the road-side, where his father discovered it, some eighteen hours afterward. The massacre at Pottawatomie Creek, when five pro-slavery men were taken from their homes and murdered by a party of free-state men under the command of John Brown, has given rise to extreme censure. But there are those among John Brown's devoted champions who defend the deed as an act of just though awful retribution, and declare that this repayment in kind had a salutary effect.

It is strikingly significant, however, of the character of John Brown that a desire for revenge or retaliation for his own sufferings is never imputed to him. What manner of man is this, who can be thus judged? His is the most enigmatical character in American political

history. He was of strict integrity, pure life, singular courage and iron will. He was ever dominated by two powerful influences — hatred of slavery, and an intense religious conviction. He believed in the literal interpretation of the Scriptures, with a sternness of faith equal to that of his Puritan ancestors, who cut off the ears of Quakers to the glory of God. It has been said that "perverted Calvinistic philosophy is the key which unlocks the mystery of Brown's life and deeds." And yet this singular man did not lack tenderness; he was a kind father, and gentle to the afflicted. Von Holst says: "If there was a sect of Christianity who adopted equally the gospel of love of the New Testament and the stern severity of the Old Testament spirit in all its terrible grandeur, the Puritans were that sect; and if ever a Puritan exemplified the welding together of these opposite principles, in his whole life and in each and every act, John Brown was that Puritan." Unless we remember his profound conviction that he was an instrument in the hands of God, we must regard his invasion of Virginia as the act of a madman. But John Brown was not mad; he was perfectly sane, though an extreme fanatic.

The Kansas Conflict ended, he determined to strike a decisive blow at slavery, and matured his plans for the Virginia raid. What did he hope to accomplish by this insane act? "To free the slaves," he always asserted. To again quote Von Holst: "John Brown actually expected that the raid on Harper's Ferry would be the stroke with which Moses called forth water from the rock. The spring was to turn southward, and in its swift course to swell to a mighty river... Emancipation was to be spread farther and farther... Heaven itself could not have brought this about, unless it had

sent the angel of judgment to cast down into the dust the whole white population from Florida to Maine. Upon recovering from the stupefaction of the first alarm, the white population of the South would have risen as one man to force the slave back into the yoke, and the North, with the exception of a handful of the most radical Abolutionists, would have helped the South with all its might... The blacks would have been crushed like tinder by their overwhelming force."

This man, who belonged to Cromwell's day, rather than his own, on the evening of October 17, 1859, accompanied by twenty-two men, five of whom were negroes, advanced upon Harper's Ferry. He surrounded the United States Arsenal, overpowered the guards, and soon was master of the situation. About one o'clock in the morning, the train from the West reached the railroad bridge, and not seeing the customary signals, the engineer stopped to investigate. He was confronted by armed pickets. A parley with Brown followed, and the train was finally permitted to proceed. That act sealed his fate. In a few hours the news was known in Washington, and before midnight state and federal troops surrounded Harper's Ferry. In the earlier hours of the day the little band could have retreated to the mountains, but they remained to be hemmed in and to make a brave resistance, though soon overcome. One of John Brown's sons was mortally wounded, and another fell dead at his father's side. Brown himself, badly hurt, was taken prisoner and lodged in the jail at Charlestown, Virginia. Governor Wise pressed on his trial in hot haste: day after day the wounded man, perfectly calm through all the trying scenes, was carried into court upon a pallet. He was found "guilty of treason and of conspiring and advising with slaves and others to rebel," and "of

murder in the first degree," and sentenced to be hanged on December 2, 1859, the first man to be executed for a political crime in the United States. The North was deeply stirred by these events, the South lashed into fury. They declared that the raid was a Republican plot, but this was soon found to be false; there was no conspiracy supporting this deluded old man; no negro uprising followed; the laws regarding slavery were as stringently administered as ever.

Meanwhile the gaze of the world was concentrated upon that heroic figure in the jail at Charlestown, the man who had madly attempted the impossible, offering up his own life and the lives of his sons, a sacrifice for freedom. In his last letter to his wife and children, he wrote thus: "I am awaiting the hour of my public murder with great composure of mind and cheerfulness, feeling the strong assurance that in no other possible way could I be used to so much advantage to the cause of God and humanity, and that nothing that I or all my family have sacrificed or suffered will be lost. The reflection that a wise and merciful, as well as just and holy God rules not only the affairs of this world, but of all worlds, is a rock to set our feet upon, under all circumstances... I have now no doubt but that our seeming disaster will ultimately result in the most glorious success. So, my dear shattered and broken family, be of good cheer, and believe and trust in God with all your heart and with all your soul, for He doeth all things well. Do not feel ashamed on my account, nor for one moment despair of the cause, or grow weary of well-doing. I bless God I never felt stronger confidence in the certain and near approach of a bright morning and glorious day than I have felt, and do now feel, since my confinement here. I am endeavoring to return, like a poor prodigal

as I am, to my Father, against whom I have always sinned, in the hope that He may kindly and forgivingly meet me, though a very great way off."

Needless to add he died like a brave man, calm and serene to the last. A few days before the execution, a writer in the *Independent* asked: "What is it that will hang on the gallows, before the eyes of all men? Not John Brown, but slavery... John Brown, swinging on the gallows, will ring the knell of slavery." And so it was decreed. Within twenty months, Northern regiments were marching to Southern battlefields, singing the popular refrain of the war:

> "John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave,
> But his soul goes marching on."

Three days after the execution at Charlestown, the 36th Congress met; it was the last to assemble under the old régime. The members came together in a bitter and excited spirit, which was immediately made evident by unavailing efforts, extending over two months, to elect a Speaker. During this time, John Brown's raid, and a book entitled *The Impending Crisis of the South; how to meet it,* written by Hinton R. Helper, of North Carolina, gave rise to acrimonious accusations and bitter invective. Helper's *Impending Crisis* was an attempt to do for the poor whites of the South that which Mrs. Stowe's great book had accomplished for the negro, by showing how fatal to all progress among the poor whites was the system of negro slavery. Its recognition by Congress was owing to the fact that John Sherman, of Ohio, the Republican candidate for Speaker, had publicly endorsed the book. Congress remained in session until June 25, and Schouler thus describes its turbulent course: "Brawls and altercations still more violent...challenges

to fight...ill-temper, bad blood, and the failure of useful and useless legislation alike." In the heated debates, threats of disunion were frequent. A Southern member stated: "I have this to say, and I speak the sentiments of every Democrat on the floor, from the State of Georgia. We will never submit to the inauguration of a Black Republican President. I repeat it, and I have authority to say so, that no Democratic Representative from Georgia will ever submit. They are for equality in the Union, or independence out of it." A member from Alabama declared: "Whenever a President is elected by a fanatical majority of the North, those whom I represent are ready, let the consequences be what they may, to fall back on their reserved rights, and say: 'As to this Union, we have no longer any lot or part in it.'" And here is a still more vigorous utterance: "Gentlemen of the Republican party, I warn you. Present your sectional candidate in 1860, elect him as the representative of your system of labor, take possession of the Government as your instrument in this irrepressible conflict, and we of the South will tear this Constitution to pieces, and look to our guns for justice and right, against aggression and wrong." In the Senate, equally extravagant and treasonable sentiments were constantly expressed. These Southern extremists were dubbed "fire-eaters."

On the evening of February 27, 1860, Abraham Lincoln delivered a great speech, in the large hall of the Cooper Union in New York City, before a brilliant audience and with William Cullen Bryant in the Chair. The next morning, the *Tribune* said: "Mr. Lincoln is one of Nature's orators, using his rare powers solely to elucidate and convince, though their inevitable effect is to delight and electrify as well... No man ever before

made such an impression on his first appeal to a New York audience."

In his clear, logical and impressive address Lincoln asked regarding the South: "What will satisfy them?" and answered: "This, and this only: cease to call slavery wrong, and join them in calling it right. And all this must be done thoroughly — done in acts as well as in words... We must arrest and return their fugitive slaves with greedy pleasure; we must pull down our free-state Constitutions; the whole atmosphere must be disinfected from all taint of opposition to slavery before they will cease to believe that all their troubles proceed from us." And again he said: "All they ask we could readily grant, if we thought slavery right; all we ask they could as readily grant, if they thought it wrong. Their thinking it right, and our thinking it wrong, is the precise fact upon which depends the whole controversy. Thinking it right, as they do, they are not to blame for desiring its full recognition as being right; but thinking it wrong, as we do, can we yield to them? Can we cast our votes for their view, and against our own? In view of our moral, social and political responsibilities, can we do this? Wrong as we think slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is, because that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the nation; but can we, while our votes will prevent it, allow it to spread into the National Territories, and to overrun us here, in the free States? If our sense of duty forbids this, then let us stand by our duty, fearlessly and effectively... Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the Government... Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us, to the end, dare to do our duty, as we understand it."

The great political struggle between slavery and freedom reached its culmination in the National Democratic Convention, which met at Charleston, South Carolina, on April 23, 1860, to nominate a candidate for the Presidency. Stephen A. Douglas would have been the unquestioned choice of his party, had not his attitude during the struggle over the Lecompton Constitution angered the South. But this very fact — his loyalty to the principles of squatter sovereignty — made him the popular Democratic candidate of the North and West. It was a momentous occasion. Should a union be effected between the Douglas forces and the Southern contingent, the re-united party would probably elect their candidate; a division in their ranks was an assurance of Republican success. In that case, would the South fulfil her oft repeated threat to forcibly resist the rule of a Black Republican President? That question made thoughtful men throughout the country very anxious; but the majority of Northern citizens did not contemplate so terrible a determination. The South had so often cried "Secession" that she now presented a striking analogy to the boy in the fable who shouted "Wolf."

In the Charleston Convention, the difficulty was, naturally, to agree upon a declaration of principles. The committee on resolutions, after five days of debate, reported their inability to agree upon a platform, and presented a majority and a minority report. These both favored the acquisition of the Island of Cuba, and a strict enforcement of the fugitive-slave law. The point of divergence was the clause relating to slavery. The majority report, the Southern platform, declared that "neither Congress, nor a territorial legislature, had the power to prohibit slavery in the territories, nor impair the right of property in slaves by any legislation what-

ever; and that it was the duty of the Federal Government to protect that right." The minority report, the Douglas platform, re-affirmed the principles of popular sovereignty — that the people of a territory had the right to decide for themselves whether their State should be slave or free. William L. Yancey, of Alabama, was the animating spirit of the Convention. He was so amiable and smiling, and possessed so sweet a voice, that it was difficult to realize that he was the most ultra of fire-eaters. The debates were heated and there seemed no prospect of agreement. On April 30th, under the leadership of Yancey, the delegates from Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, Florida, Texas and Arkansas formally withdrew and organized a separate Convention, which, after four days, adjourned without making a nomination. The remaining delegates of the original Convention attempted to nominate Douglas, but the two-thirds rule preventing a choice, on May 3d they adjourned to meet at Baltimore on June 18th. They met, as appointed, but only to disagree again, and finally the entire delegations of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Delaware and California, and a portion of the delegations of Maryland, Kentucky and Massachusetts withdrew. The Convention then adopted the minority platform offered at Charleston, and nominated Stephen A. Douglas for the Presidency, and Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia, for the Vice-Presidency. On June 23d, the delegates who had withdrawn from the two Conventions, met at Baltimore, adopted the majority platform presented at Charleston, and nominated John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, for the Presidency, and General Joseph Lane, of Oregon, for the Vice-Presidency. The great Democratic party was split in twain.

On May 16th, the Republican Convention had met

at Chicago, in a sanguine mood, for their opponents' divided forces foretold the success of the new party. Their platform denounced disunion, Lecomptonism, the reopening of the African slave trade and the fallacy of popular sovereignty; advocated the immediate admission of Kansas, and inserted a protection plank, which had the desired effect of bringing Pennsylvania, that stronghold of the protective policy, into the Republican ranks. The clause relating to slavery stated: "We deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States." On May 18th, the balloting commenced. Seward, that tried and able standard-bearer of his party, led on the first ballot, but it was soon evident that Lincoln would win. The doubtful States of Indiana and Illinois must be wrested from Douglas, and none other than he could successfully contest the Little Giant's popularity in his own State. On the third ballot Abraham Lincoln received 364 votes, and was declared the candidate of the Republican party for President of the United States. As soon as the enthusiasm subsided, Mr. William M. Evarts, the leader of the Seward forces, moved to make the nomination unanimous. Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, was nominated for the Vice-Presidency.

There was still another ticket in this memorable campaign. The remnants of the Whigs and Know-Nothings had united to form a "Constitutional Union Party." They proposed to allay sectional strife, and *ignored* the question of slavery, declaring simply for the Constitution, the enforcement of the laws, and the union of the States. They nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, for the Presidency, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, for the Vice-Presidency. It was feared that this party of con-

servatives might poll a sufficient vote to throw the election into the House of Representatives, but such was not the case. "Honest Abe, the rail-splitter," was a popular candidate, although he took no active part in the canvass. Douglas made an extended political tour, and did good service to his country, for he everywhere boldly proclaimed that the Union must be maintained and the Constitution upheld.

A picturesque feature of this campaign were the torch-light parades of the "Wide-Awake Clubs," where thousands of Republicans, each wearing a cape and cap of glazed or enamelled cloth and carrying a flaming torch, marched in procession.

Abraham Lincoln received 180 electoral votes, Breckenridge 76, Bell 39 and Douglas 12. Although Douglas' electoral vote was small he received an immense popular vote. The Republicans failed to secure a majority in either House of Congress.

The Black Republican was elected President and the South, fully prepared for this anticipated result, acted promptly. South Carolina, that hot-bed of disunion, made the first move to break up the Government of the United States. On November 10th, four days after the Presidential Election, her legislature authorized the calling of a Convention of the people of the State. This Convention, on December 20, 1860, unanimously passed an ordinance of secession. Great enthusiasm prevailed and fire-works, illuminations and palmetto flags, testified to the general joy. By the end of January, a like ordinance had been passed by the States of Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas; and the Senators and Representatives of these States had abandoned their seats in the Congress of the United States, after a final expression of their views, for the enlightenment of

the nation. The seceded States acted with forethought, as well as promptitude. They increased and drilled their militia, voted great sums for military purposes and hastened to seize forts, arsenals and all other United States property within their borders.

In February, delegates from the seven seceded States met in convention at Montgomery, Alabama, organized a government for the Confederate States of America, and elected as President and Vice-President of the new Confederacy, Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia. The latter, after the convention, addressed a great meeting at Savannah (March 21, 1861). Explaining the new Constitution, he said: "It has put at rest forever all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institution, African slavery. The foundations of our new Government are laid; its corner-stone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and normal condition. This, our new Government, is the first in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical and moral truth." It is a curious fact that Stephens, three months previous, had made a strong Union speech, in an effort to prevent the secession of his State. In this address, before the legislature of Georgia, he endeavored to convince his hearers that they had little cause of complaint. He said: "Can either of you today name one governmental act of wrong deliberately and purposely done by the Government at Washington, of which the South has a right to complain? When we of the South demanded the slave trade...did they not yield the right for twenty years? When we asked a three-fifths representation in Congress, for our slaves, was it not granted? When we...demanded the return...of those persons owing labor or allegiance, was

it not incorporated in the Constitution, and again ratified and strengthened by the fugitive-slave law of 1850?... Again...when we have asked that more territory should be added, that we might spread the institution of slavery, have they not yielded to our demands in giving us Louisiana, Florida and Texas, out of which four States have been carved and ample territory for four more, to be added in due time?" In speaking of the Government, he declared: "We have always had the control of it, and can yet, if we remain in it, and are as united as we have been. We have had a majority of the Presidents chosen from the South, *as well as the control and management of most of those chosen from the North.* We have had sixty years of Southern Presidents to their twenty-four... So, of the Judges of the Supreme Court, we have had eighteen from the South, and but eleven from the North... Speakers of the House we have had twenty-three to their twelve... Attorneys-General we have had fourteen, while the North have had five. Foreign Ministers we have had eighty-six, and they but fifty-four. We have had a vast majority of the higher officers of the army and navy." He proceeded to show how greatly the interests of the South had been fostered by this inequality, and concluded with these words: "Now for you to attempt to overthrow such a Government as this, under which we have lived for more than three-quarters of a century, in which we have gained our wealth, our standing as a nation, our domestic safety...is the height of madness, folly and wickedness, to which I can neither lend my sanction, nor my vote."

There were many throughout the South who deprecated disunion, but the fire-eaters and their followers swept them into the tide of civil war, the intensity of their belief in state-rights weakening their power of re-

sistance. Alexander H. Stephens, an able lawyer and legislator, active, brave, upright, and austere as a Puritan, represented the finest type of the South, and, alas! her most extreme ideas upon the sacredness of slavery and the doctrine of state-rights. "If Georgia," he said, "should go out of the Union,...I shall bow to the will of her people. Their cause is my cause, and their destiny is my destiny."

Meanwhile the startled North was called to face an unexpected and terrible emergency. The peace sentiment was strong. On November 9 (1860) the *New York Tribune* said: "Whenever a considerable section of our Union shall deliberately resolve to go out, we shall resist all coercive measures designed to keep it in. We hope never to live in a Republic, whereof one section is pinned to the residue by bayonets." But this sentiment did not receive a hearty response, and the *Tribune* soon braced up to meet the issue in a more patriotic spirit. The merchants who saw trade stagnant and southern business houses repudiating their northern debts, endeavored, by their efforts for a compromise, to avert the impending disaster. Wendell Phillips said: "The saddest thing in the Union meetings was the constant presence...of the clink of coin, the whirr of spindles, the dust of trade." All turned in expectation to the Executive, only to behold a weak, vacillating old man, a puppet in southern hands, and with a Cabinet composed, in part, of traitors. On the assembling of Congress, in December, his anxiously-awaited message, after duly blaming the North for southern discontent, proceeded to give a fine-spun constitutional argument, to the effect that while secession was unlawful, a State could not be coerced into submission. Seward wrote to his wife: "I think the President has conclusively proved two things: (1), that no State

has the right to secede, unless it wishes to, and, (2), that it is the President's duty to enforce the laws, unless somebody opposes him." The message announced no policy, by which the laws should be upheld and the National Union preserved. What wonder the North cried: "O, but for one hour of General Jackson!"

Among the efforts for reconciliation was the Crittenden Compromise, presented in the Senate by the venerable and patriotic John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky. There were several propositions, but the most important was contained in the first clause. By this, the parallel 36° 30′, the Missouri Compromise line, was to be restored, and extended to the Pacific; slavery was to be prohibited north of this line, and permitted south of it, in all territory then held, or thereafter acquired. This was to be made a constitutional amendment. A committee of thirteen Senators, representing all sections, was appointed, to "consider the grievances between the slaveholding and the non-slaveholding States." Among these distinguished men were William H. Seward and Jefferson Davis. They met on December 21st, and proceeded to consider the Crittenden Compromise. The first article, which made the Missouri Compromise line a constitutional amendment, was defeated by the vote of the Republican members of the committee, and all hope of an agreement was at an end. Nicolay thus explains their actions: "The Republican party, which had won the Presidential victory at the November election, upon the distinct issue, 'no extension of slavery,' could not accept the proposition... They were compelled to insist that the South must submit to the legally expressed will of the majority. To recede from this was not only the destruction of the Republican party, it was the abandonment of Government." Another attempt to effect a reconciliation was the Peace Conven-

tion. On January 19, 1861, the legislature of Virginia issued an invitation to the States to meet in Washington, on February 4th, to unite in an earnest effort to adjust the existing difficulties. This convention included delegates from twenty-one States, among these three of the South — North Carolina, Virginia and Kentucky. It finally presented to Congress a proposal which was virtually the first clause of the Crittenden Compromise. The Senate voted it down and the House refused to receive it. The House meanwhile had appointed a committee of thirty-three and they offered another peace proposal. This was a 13th amendment to the Constitution. It declared that no amendment to the Constitution should ever be made which interfered with or abolished slavery in any State. This passed the House and the Senate on March 3, 1861, and was probably the last official paper signed by Buchanan. It was transmitted to the several States and was never heard from again, being lost in the din of civil war. In 1865 a 13th amendment was added to the Constitution; it prohibited slavery within the United States forever.

While considering peace propositions, the Government neglected to prepare for defense, or to retain the advantages it possessed. In November, a small body of troops garrisoned Fort Moultrie, in the Harbor of Charleston. Their Commander, Major Robert Anderson, of Kentucky, was loyal to the Government in spite of his strong southern sympathies. The efforts of this brave officer to obtain reinforcements and the successful attempts of Cabinet traitors and southern emissaries to prevent the President from complying, make up a disgraceful page of national history. On December 26th, Anderson, on his own responsibility, quietly removed his force to Fort Sumter, which was a much stronger position. When,

early in January, supplies and troops were sent, they were despatched in a merchant steamer, instead of a war-ship, out of respect to southern sensibilities. As this vessel, the "Star of the West," approached Charleston Harbor, she was fired upon by southern batteries and thereupon returned to New York. The Sumter incident had the happy result of ridding the Cabinet of two traitors. John B. Floyd, Secretary of War, resigned because the President refused to withdraw the garrison from Fort Sumter and surrender the fort to the State of South Carolina; and Jacob Thompson, Secretary of the Interior, followed him, because troops had been sent to that fort in the "Star of the West." Howell Cobb having, by bad financiering, nearly bankrupted the nation, resigned his position as Secretary of the Treasury, alleging that "a sense of duty to the State of Georgia made it impossible for him to remain in the Cabinet." Lewis Cass, Secretary of State, had been the first to withdraw, but, being a loyal man, the *refusal* of Buchanan to reinforce the forts in Charleston Harbor had occasioned his departure.

By the middle of January, there was a decided improvement in national affairs. Buchanan had reorganized his Cabinet, and whereas he had been formerly led by secessionists, he was now dominated by men of integrity, ability and sound patriotism. The new members were Joseph Holt, Secretary of War; John A. Dix, Secretary of the Treasury; and Edwin M. Stanton, Attorney-General. Jeremiah S. Black, the former Attorney-General, was made Secretary of State. Judge Black was an eminent lawyer of strict integrity, a man of fine literary attainments and a devout Christian. It has been said of him: "He applied to his own political faith the literal teachings of the Bible. If Abraham, Isaac and Jacob had held slaves, without condemnation or rebuke from

the Lord of Hosts, he believed Virginia, Carolina and Georgia might do the same." But notwithstanding his sympathy with slavery, he was loyal to the Government. John A. Dix soon thrilled the North by his famous telegram to a United States Treasury official at New Orleans: "If any man attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot." Among the extraordinary incidents of this winter of distress and turmoil, were the solemn farewell speeches in Congress of members departing to engage in rebellion against the Government.

A brief survey of public opinion, North and South, in the light of subsequent events, is most interesting. The South, with the exception of a few far-seeing men, did not expect the North to fight; she also counted on assistance from northern Democrats, but the mass of that party loyally supported the National Government. Douglas, for the short space of life remaining to him, used his great influence in behalf of Lincoln and constantly proclaimed: "Every man must be for the United States or against it; there can be no neutrals in this war — only patriots and traitors." The South was again disappointed, in its expectation of foreign assistance. One of her Representatives had asserted, on the floor of the House: "Cotton is king. No power on earth can make war on it. What would happen if no cotton were furnished for three years?... England would topple headlong, and carry the whole civilized world with her, save the South." When hostilities commenced, the southern ports were blockaded, and the "cotton famine" caused great distress in English manufacturing centres; but England had incessantly fought African slavery, and dared not prove recreant. She consistently refused to acknowledge a government whose cornerstone was slavery.

Oliver Wendell Holmes, in a letter to Motley, dated

February 16, 1861, described the state of public feeling at the North: "From the impracticable Abolitionist... to the wretch who would sacrifice everything and beg the South's pardon for offending it, you find all shades of opinion in our streets. If Mr. Seward, or Mr. Adams, moves in favor of compromise, the whole Republican party sways, like a field of grain, before the breath of either of them. If Mr. Lincoln says he shall execute the laws and collect revenue, though the heavens cave in, the backs of the Republicans stiffen again, and they take down the old Revolutionary King's arms, and begin to ask whether they can be altered to carry Minie bullets."

Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated at Washington March 4, 1861. He was the sixteenth President of the United States and no other had faced so momentous a future. There were two distinct Governments within the once powerful and united nation; but, a strange circumstance, the United States mail was still delivered throughout the Southern Confederacy. The clouds of an appalling war, where brother should face brother, across a line of glittering bayonets, were rapidly darkening the heavens. Within a few short weeks, the wavering North was to stand firm; 300,000 men were to respond to the President's call for troops, to defend the flag lowered at Sumter and to preserve the Union. But as yet there was hope of averting the horrors of civil war and Abraham Lincoln closed his inaugural address with these words: "In *your* hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in *mine,* is the momentous issue of civil war. The Government will not assail *you.* You can have no conflict, without being yourselves the aggressors. *You* have no oath registered in Heaven to destroy the Government, while I shall have the most solemn one 'to preserve, protect and defend it'... We are not enemies, but friends. We must

not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break, our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone, all over this broad land, will yet swell the chords of the Union, when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

But no word of man could stay the "irrepressible conflict."

CHAPTER XXI

PRESIDENCY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

THE inaugural address contained not only an appeal for unity and peace but also a distinct statement of the President's future policy. "I have no purpose," he said, "directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe that I have no lawful right to do so...the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming administration...the protection which, consistently with the Constitution and the laws, can be given, will be cheerfully given to all the States when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause — as cheerfully to one section as to another." He declared the fugitive-slave law "as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its provisions" and called attention to the fact that "all members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution — to this provision as much as to any other." He denied the right of a State to secede and continued: "I therefore consider that in view of the Constitution and the laws, the Union is unbroken; and to the extent of my ability I shall take care, as the Constitution itself expressly enjoins upon me, that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the States. Doing this I deem to be only a simple duty on my part... The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to Government, and to collect the duties and imposts."

This rightful determination to protect the property of the United States was immediately applicable to Fort Sumter and was the first subject that demanded attention, when the President and his newly-appointed advisers assembled for the first Cabinet meeting on March 9th. The President then submitted the startling information that Major Anderson must either abandon his post or a strong relief expedition must be sent to him prepared to fight. The question admitted of slight delay, for supplies within the fort were running low. The new Cabinet thus called upon to face, at once, a momentous issue consisted of the following, all anti-slavery men and strong Unionists, but not radicals: William H. Seward of New York, Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War; Gideon Welles of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy; Caleb B. Smith of Indiana, Secretary of the Interior; Edward Bates of Missouri, Attorney-General; and Montgomery Blair of Maryland, Postmaster-General.

The President dispatched Captain Fox to Charleston, and having succeeded in visiting Anderson, Fox returned and reported that "the 15th of April, at noon, would be the period beyond which the fort could not hold out unless supplies were furnished." In the excited state of southern feeling an attempt to relieve the garrison would in all probability be the signal for civil war, a calamity which those in authority still hoped to avert. Meanwhile three commissioners appointed by Jefferson Davis with full powers to negotiate with the United States Government "for the settlement of all questions of disagreement between the two Governments, upon principles of right, justice, equity, and good faith," had arrived in Washington, and were attempting to carry out their instructions.

Seward refused to meet them, but John A. Campbell, a Southerner and Justice of the Supreme Court, acted as an intermediary. Seward advocated the evacuation of Fort Sumter and undoubtedly led Justice Campbell to suppose that his advice would be followed. This opinion, duly communicated to the commissioners, has given southern writers an opportunity to accuse the administration of duplicity, but this is unjust, for Seward alone was responsible for the impression conveyed. On March 15th, the Cabinet voted upon the question, with the result that five were in favor of abandoning the fort and two[1] of attempting its relief. The President as usual weighed the matter, accepted advice and kept his own counsel. The sending of troops to Fort Pickens at Pensacola was a much simpler matter as there was, as yet, no organized resistance by the State of Florida. The President promptly ordered that stronghold reinforced and it remained throughout the war in possession of the United States.

The President's advisers had had two weeks, in which to consider the case of Fort Sumter in all its bearings, when the Cabinet met on March 29th, and now the only advocates of evacuation were Seward and Smith, although Bates declared simply for action either relief or evacuation. The majority, therefore, stood for the relief of the fort and the President, being entirely in accord with this opinion, ordered at once an expedition to be fitted out and prepared to move by sea on April 6th. He made, however, a final effort for conciliation and notified Governor Pickens of South Carolina that he was sending an expedition to provision Fort Sumter, but would not "throw in men, arms, or ammunition" without further notice, except in case of an attack upon the fort. Lincoln

[1] Chase and Blair.

was determined not to precipitate civil war while there was a chance of averting it, but to preserve the property of the nation and to protect her citizens was plainly the duty of the Government.

Charleston was the hot-bed of secession. Its daily papers, to emphasize the complete separation from the Union, placed all information regarding the United States under the heading "foreign news," and the extremists declared it intolerable that the flag of a foreign power should float over a fort in their harbor. Elaborate preparations were made to prevent the relief of the imprisoned garrison, additional guard-boats patrolled the approaches to the harbor, the military force commanded by General Beauregard was increased and the fortifications strengthened. On April 11th Beauregard formally demanded the surrender of the fort. Anderson knew that in a few days he would be starved out, unless his Government sent him relief, but he hoped to receive assistance and refused to surrender. Every possible provision for defence was made by the brave little band, for, including eight musicians and forty-three non-combatant laborers, there were only one hundred and twenty-eight men within the fort, and but forty-eight mounted guns. At half-past four o'clock, on the morning of April 12th, the rebel batteries directed their fire upon Sumter. All day the bombardment continued, was kept up at intervals during the night and vigorously resumed on the 13th. The little garrison made a heroic defense. The provisions had given out, pork being the only article of food remaining; the barracks were fired by the enemies' shot and there was for a time imminent danger of exploding the magazines; the supply of cartridges was about exhausted, so that only at intervals could a shot be fired by the wearied men battling with flame and smoke within the ramparts; the

rebels greeted these shots with cheers for the brave men behind the guns. In the early afternoon Beauregard sent to inquire whether Anderson wished the services of a surgeon, or would like to have a fire-engine sent to him. Anderson declined the offer of an engine, as the magazines were then out of danger, and the services of a surgeon were fortunately not required. A peace parley followed and resulted in the surrender of the fort. On Sunday, April 14th, having saluted the flag of the United States as it was lowered, Anderson and his command marched out of the fort and embarked for the North on the relief ships lying outside the harbor. These ships had arrived during the bombardment, but owing to a series of mishaps were unable to render assistance.

The people of Charleston had viewed the spectacle of the bombardment of Sumter with evident rejoicing and apparently no realization that they were witnessing the opening scene of the greatest civil war in history. They did not expect that the North would fight. Southern orators asserted: "a lady's thimble would hold all the blood to be shed." The efforts for peace, the conciliatory attitude of the United States Government, the failure to promptly suppress acts of rebellion, had encouraged them in this opinion. They forgot that the men North and South were of the same race, and that the Anglo-Saxon has ever been ready to fight and fight hard in a cause he deems righteous. The shot that struck down the flag at Sumter aroused the North to action. Her people had stood excited, dismayed, shrinking with horror from the thought of civil war; disbelieving, in the face of indisputable facts, the reality of the impending conflict; feeling that some compromise must avert so awful a calamity. They viewed the future with gloomy forebodings, declaring that if the South was conquered by force of

arms, they could never be reunited and live again in peace, as one people, with the bitter memories of civil war between them. But that day's work brought forward a solid North, standing shoulder to shoulder, in defense of the nation; ready to die for the flag, they never before realized that they so loved; and determined at any cost of blood and treasure, to preserve inviolate the fair heritage, which their forefathers had won by a like expenditure. "The better rule," wrote Robert E. Lee, "is to judge our adversaries from their standpoint, not from ours." Perfect justice demands that the South should be thus viewed. They believed their cause to be right, and southern pulpits as sincerely rendered thanks to God for success in the field, as northern worshippers did for their victories. The sole cause of the war was the extension of slavery; the North had never attempted to interfere with slavery in the States where it was already established, but they were determined to prevent, by all lawful means, its extension into the territories; the South felt this to be an interference with the rights of property, guaranteed to every citizen by the Constitution. The cornerstone of the new government was slavery; but they were fighting to maintain an institution condemned by the humane spirit, that underlies the civilization of the nineteenth century; they were not only opposing the North, but the enlightenment of the age. "We are to prove," wrote Lowell in 1861, "which is stronger, — an oligarchy built *on* men, or a commonwealth built *of* them."

The South claimed the right to secede, declaring that the Union was but a league of States, and that, as parties to the compact, they had the right to withdraw when they saw fit. They proclaimed the sovereignty of the States, but were never able satisfactorily to explain in

what manner this sovereignty had been obtained by Florida and Louisiana, which were formed from territory purchased from a foreign power, or gained by those States, which had been territories of the United States, before their admission to the Union. If this claim of sovereignty could be admitted, it could apply only to the original thirteen States, but all the Cotton States alike asserted the right to secede. The North denied the right of secession, and Abraham Lincoln in his message to Congress, July 4, 1861, thus clearly set forth its view: "Much is said about the 'sovereignty' of the States; but the word, even, is not in the national Constitution; nor, as is believed, in any of the State constitutions. What is 'sovereignty,' in the political sense of the term? Would it be far wrong to define it, 'a political community without a political superior'? Tested by this, no one of our States, except Texas, ever was a sovereignty. And even Texas gave up the character on coming into the Union; by which act she acknowledged the Constitution of the United States, and the laws and treaties of the United States made in pursuance of the Constitution, to be, for her, the supreme law of the land. The States have their *status* in the Union, and they have no other legal *status*. If they break from this, they can only do so against the law, and by revolution. The Union, and not themselves separately, procured their independence and their liberty. By conquest, or purchase, the Union gave each of them whatever of independence and liberty it has. The Union is older than any of the States, and, in fact, it created them as States. Originally, some dependent colonies made the Union, and, in turn, the Union threw off their old dependence for them, and made them States, such as they are. Not one of them ever had a State constitution independent of the

Union. Of course it is not forgotten that all the new States framed their constitutions before they entered the Union, nevertheless, dependent upon, and preparatory to, coming within the Union. Unquestionably the States have the powers and rights reserved to them in and by the national Constitution; but among these, surely, are not included all conceivable powers, however mischievous or destructive, but at most such only as were known in the world at the time as governmental powers; and certainly a power to destroy the Government itself had never been known as a governmental — as a merely administrative — power." The right of Revolution, however, belongs to every people, and the South, believing that the citizen owed allegiance to his native State rather than the nation, and dissatisfied with the government, had the same right to rebel as had the Americans, who established the government of the United States by a successful revolt against English rule. Revolution is justified by the righteousness of its motives alone, and by this test the "lost cause" of the South must be judged.

On Monday, April 15th, the Northern press published the fall of Sumter, and also the President's proclamation calling for seventy-five thousand state militia to serve for three months. By an act, passed in 1795, the militia could be called upon to serve for only "thirty days after the commencement of the then next session of Congress," and as this same proclamation summoned Congress to meet in extra session on July 4th, it was possible under the law to issue a call for ninety days' service only. The response was immediate and enthusiastic. Theodore Winthrop wrote of the march of the 7th Regiment[1] through the streets of New York City: "It was worth a life, that march. Only one who passed, as we did,

[1] National Guard, State of New York.

through that tempest of cheers, two miles long, can know the terrible enthusiasm of the occasion." Men from every walk of life hastened to serve their country in her hour of need, and Edward Everett's description of the Massachusetts volunteers would apply with equal truth to every division of the army of the North: "They have hurried from the lawyer's office, from the counting-room, from the artist's studio, in instances not a few from the pulpit; they have left the fisher's line upon the reel, the plough in the furrow, the plane upon the workbench, the hammer on the anvil, the form upon the printing press — there is not a mechanical art nor a useful handicraft that has not its experts in these patriotic ranks." This skill in mechanical arts, and the business capacity gained in conducting mercantile enterprises, were of distinct advantage to the North. In their army were always found men able to relay torn-up tracks, repair disabled locomotives, or rebuild destroyed bridges; and northern factories furnished abundant supplies for the well equipped federal troops. The South being a strictly agricultural community, when shut within her own borders, had but few factories to supply her needs and suffered accordingly.

By the autumn of 1861 the Union and the Confederacy were in deadly conflict. The former consisted of twenty-three States, with a population of twenty-two millions, and the latter of eleven States, with a population of nine millions, three and one-half millions of this number being slaves. These slaves were a source of strength as they raised the crops which supplied food for the troops in the field. The South was fortunate at the outset in being better prepared for the contest, in having a President with the military training of West Point, and a great general in Robert E. Lee. Time was to give great commanders to

the North, but only after many failures and disappointments. Throughout, the South possessed the immense advantage of fighting on the defensive, and on her own ground with which she was perfectly familiar. The war lasted for four years. The loss of life in the conflict was appalling; we read of armies of 100,000 men crushed and defeated, of thousands killed and wounded in a single battle; Grant's losses, from May 4 to June 12 (1864), in the campaign from the Rapidan to the James, reached the enormous total of 54,929 men. The southern coast was closely blockaded by the federal navy, and the Mississippi for its entire length came into possession of the Union forces. The South was closely shut within her borders, she could gain no help from abroad except from a blockade runner, in all but her indigenous food supply her resources were exhausted, and she had neither the means, nor the mechanical skill to replace them. The North was rich and powerful, with all Europe to draw upon, her factories running upon full time, her people prosperous and, notwithstanding the war, her population not sensibly lessened, the appalling loss in the field being replaced by a constantly increasing immigration from Europe. In view of these facts, it must be admitted, that the southern people maintained one of the greatest and most heroic struggles in all history.

The Rebellion appears stupendous in whatever light it is viewed. It gave to four million slaves their freedom; it proved the vitality and power of free institutions; and it preserved to the world a nation destined, possibly, to be the greatest power on the globe. The expenditure in blood and treasure was commensurate with the results. No war of modern times has been so costly, or waged on so vast a scale. The area of invasion in the southern States was eight hundred thousand square miles; the

seacoast blockaded was three thousand miles in extent. In the beginning the nation had no navy worthy the name, but ships were rapidly added, and over one hundred thousand men enlisted for sea service. In the Federal army, during the four years, over two million men were included, and in the Confederate, more than one million, thus during the Civil War nearly four million men were under arms. At the close of hostilities the Federal Government paid and discharged over one million men from the army, and without disturbance they were absorbed into the industrial life of the nation.

The cost of the war was enormous. The treasury department of the Confederacy was reduced to a chaotic state; the attempt to float a loan abroad was unsuccessful, as cotton and tobacco, the principal assets, were unavailable owing to the strict blockade. The financial measures adopted by the Congress of the United States maintained the national credit, and every promise to pay was redeemed. Consider the drain on the federal treasury. During the last three years of the Rebellion the war department alone expended over $2,300,000,000. The cost of the war averaged $2,000,000 a day; it sometimes reached $90,000,000, seldom less than $30,000,000 a month. The public debt on July 1, 1861, was in round numbers $90,000,000; on August 31, 1865, it was more than $2,800,000,000. Of this lavish expenditure it has been remarked: "No imperial power commanded it, no kingly prerogative controlled it. It was the free, unbiased, unchangeable will of the Sovereign People."

The 37th Congress met in special session on July 4, 1861. Among the numerous war measures the appropriation bills were of first importance. A Loan Bill having passed both houses was signed by the President

July 17th. It authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to issue, to the amount of $250,000,000, 7% bonds having twenty years to run, or treasury notes of the denomination of $50, payable three years after date and bearing 7.3% interest. In August, a supplementary bill was passed, permitting the secretary to issue 6% bonds payable at the pleasure of the government, after twenty years. As an additional source of revenue tariff duties were raised, an income tax laid, the list of taxable articles increased, and an internal revenue act passed. Expenditures rapidly increased, there was not sufficient gold in the country to meet the demand, and on December 30, 1861, the banks of New York City suspended specie payment. This had been foreseen, and the same day Mr. E. G. Spaulding, a leading banker of Buffalo and chairman of a sub-committee on finance, introduced the first "Legal-Tender Bill" in the House; Congress having met in regular session on December 2d. The bill was reported from committee on January 22d, and occasioned a controversy in both Houses, as many prominent Republicans and the majority of Democrats were opposed to it. The bill provided for the issue of $100,000,000 non-interest-bearing notes, which should be receivable for all debts and demands due the United States and a legal tender in payment of all debts public and private. It also made a legal tender the $50,000,000 of Treasury notes issued in the previous July. This sum was to be funded, by making the legal tender notes exchangeable, at par, for United States 6% bonds, having twenty years to run, and the bill authorized for that purpose the issue of 500,000,000 such bonds.[1] The bill passed the House by

[1] As these bonds were redeemable at the pleasure of the Government after five years, and payable in twenty years, they were known as "five-twenties."

a vote of ninety-three to fifty-nine, several of the most prominent Republicans voting with the Democrats against it. In the senate the bill was amended, making all duties on imports and the interest on the public debt payable in gold. It passed the senate by a vote of thirty to seven,[1] and, *as amended,* was signed by the President on February 25th. The first issue of legal-tender notes, known from their color as "greenbacks," was made on March 10th.

So great was the scarcity of coin that an act was passed, in the following July (1862), authorizing the use of postage and other government stamps, for the fractional parts of a dollar. This postal currency was ill adapted for the purpose, and the Government soon issued fractional notes of appropriate design which were long used as small change. Specie payment was not resumed fully until January 1, 1879; although cents and five-cent pieces were ordered coined in 1866, and in 1875 silver coins of the value of ten, twenty-five, and fifty cents were put in circulation.

During the war, if gold was wanted, it must be bought, and the gold-room in Wall Street was as well known as the stock exchange. Gold fluctuated from day to day, selling, for instance, on January 15, 1864, at a premium of fifty-five, and on July 11th, in the same year, rising to one hundred and eighty-five above par, the highest figure attained during the war. Under these conditions the price of commodities rose, and greenbacks depreciated, until, at the lowest rate, they were worth in gold only thirty-five cents on the dollar. In this we see the reason for the opposition in Congress to inflating the currency by the issue of paper money by the government. It was declared unconstitutional, and the elastic clause had again

[1] The vote on the legal-tender clause was twenty-two to seventeen.

to serve in argument as in Hamilton's day. The legal-tender act increased undoubtedly the cost of the war, and engendered false notions of finance among the people, as later greenback parties and other financial fallacies have proved. But it was urged by its advocates as a necessary war measure. The government must at once have command of a vast sum of money, and the legal-tender act promised relief. Chase reluctantly favored the bill on these grounds, but eight years later, when Chief-Justice of the United States, he gave the opinion from the bench that "the Legal-tender Act violated justice, was inconsistent with the spirit of the Constitution, and was prohibited by the Constitution." Nevertheless he was thankful at the time for its assistance in enabling the government to meet pressing demands. Unfortunately the demands continued, and likewise the necessity for legal-tender issues; by the close of the war the whole amount authorized by Congress during the four years reached the enormous sum of $1,250,000,000.

One wise measure, the establishment of national banks, arose from the exigencies of the financial situation. The plan was proposed by Secretary Chase and recommended by the President, and a national banking-act was passed in February, 1863, and a revised act in June, 1864. The many State banks of that day emitted their own bills, which were extensively counterfeited and liable to discount in other States; moreover there was no absolute certainty of their redemption. The notes of the proposed banks were not subject to these disadvantages. The bill compelled these banks to deposit in the United States Treasury, United States government bonds as security for their circulation, the banks being permitted to issue notes to the extent of 90% of the par value of the bonds deposited. In case of the failure of any bank

its bonds could be used to redeem its notes; bank notes were thus under all conditions worth their face value. The notes issued by the banks were, in the future, to be furnished by the government, and there was little danger of an attempt to counterfeit this uniform currency. In order to compel all banks emitting notes to become national banks, on March 3, 1865, an act was passed taxing all banks other than national banks 10% on their circulation.

At the beginning of the war, the border States were an important factor in the situation, and the President displayed high qualities of statesmanship, when he remained silent regarding slavery, and in proclamation and message appealed simply for the preservation of the Union. This encouraged the loyal men in doubtful States, and united the North, for men of all parties were ready to defend the nation, whatever their diversity of opinion regarding the negro. The hardy mountaineers of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky were loyal, but the low-lands with their large cities, important centres of population, very generally carried the day; and Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee joined the Confederacy. The early successes of the federal army in western Virginia enabled the Unionists of that section to withstand the secession movement, and a separate State government was established which provided for the gradual abolition of slavery. This new State called West Virginia was admitted to the Union on the last day of the year 1862.

In Missouri there was a large German population, loyal and anti-slavery. The legislature passed an ordinance of secession, but the people called a State Convention and voted to remain in the Union. By skilful political management Missouri, Kentucky and Maryland were retained

in the federal bond. The last State, by reason of its nearness to Washington, and its position between the capital and the phalanx of loyal States, threatened, at first, to give serious trouble. There was a Union party, but also a strong rebel element, which included a rough class designated as "plug-uglies." The Sixth Massachusetts, the first regiment to start for Washington in response to the President's proclamation of April 15th, was attacked by these roughs as it was passing through Baltimore. Three of the soldiers were killed, and strangely enough this, the first blood shed in the Civil War, was on the anniversary of the battle of Lexington. A committee from Baltimore, protesting to the President against the passage of troops through their State, received the following reply: "I must have troops to defend this capital. Geographically it is surrounded by the soil of Maryland; and mathematically the necessity exists that they should come over her territory. Our men are not moles, and can't dig under the earth; they are not birds, and can't fly through the air. There is no way but to march across, and that they must do... Go home and tell your people that if they will not attack us, we will not attack them; but if they do attack us, we will return it, and that severely." The effort to suppress rebellion in Maryland rendered necessary an extraordinary act of executive authority — the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. The Constitution of the United States makes no provision for civil war, and the occasion demanded an unusual exercise of power. Lincoln wisely recognized that his first duty was to save the country. In his message to Congress on July 4th he asked: "Should the Government itself go to pieces lest a certain law be violated?" And answered: "Even in such a case I should consider my official oath broken if I should allow the

Government to be overthrown, when I might think the disregarding the single law would tend to preserve it." He denied that there *had* been a violation of law, as the Constitution gave authority to suspend the writ of habeas corpus when in "cases of rebellion, or invasion, the public safety may require it," and as the Constitution does not state whether Congress or the Executive shall exercise such power, he had acted within its sanction. The President's call in the month of May, for additional troops to serve for three years unless sooner discharged, and his order increasing the regular army and navy, were undoubtedly beyond his legal powers, but Congress fully approving his course, before it adjourned, passed the following: "All the acts, proclamations, and orders of the President of the United States, after the 4th of March, 1861, respecting the army and navy of the United States, and calling out or relating to the militia or volunteers from the States, are hereby approved, and in all respects legalized and made valid, to the same intent, and with the same effect, as if they had been issued and done under the previous express authority of the Congress of the United States."

Mr. Frederick Bancroft writes: "Lincoln was responsible for the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, and Seward for the system that soon developed therefrom." It gave an autocratic power to the administration. Men were arrested by Seward's order, and confined in military forts without being even informed of the charge against them. The accused had no lawful means of redress until the Government chose to act. There were abuses under this system, undoubtedly, as it furnished an excellent opportunity to the malicious to gratify a private spite, by charging another with furnishing aid or information to the enemy. This arbitrary

use of a power, doubtfully constitutional, was a constant cause of complaint by those not in sympathy with the Republicans, and by those Northern sympathisers with the South called "copperheads," and there was enough of truth in their attacks to form a rallying-point for the discontented. This whole subject must be considered as belonging to the "war powers" permitted the President in a season of national peril. During the Rebellion the Constitution had to be stretched and shaped to fit changed conditions, and fortunately it proved sufficiently elastic for the purpose. Mr. Bryce in *The American Commonwealth* thus explains the situation: "In quiet times the power of the President is not great... In troublous times it is otherwise, for immense responsibility is then thrown on one who is both the commander-in-chief and the head of the civil executive. Abraham Lincoln wielded more authority than any single Englishman has done since Oliver Cromwell... It is true that the ordinary law was for some purposes practically suspended during the War of Secession. But it will always have to be similarly suspended in similar crises, and the suspension inures to the benefit of the President, who becomes a sort of dictator."

When Abraham Lincoln became President of the United States, he was regarded by the majority of his countrymen as an effective stump speaker and an able politician; later they learned to know him as one who "bore the sorrows of the nation in his own heart," and they loved and trusted him accordingly. The Abolitionists, at first, denounced him as lukewarm toward their cause, but they were unjust; Lincoln hated slavery, but he saw the necessity for caution in dealing with so complex a question. In the Congress of July and August, 1861, an act was passed confiscating all

property used in aid of the Confederate cause, and one section of the bill declared that owners should forfeit all claim to those slaves, who should be employed in any military or naval service, or put to work on forts or fortifications, or used in any capacity in aiding the rebellion against the United States. This was the first legislation against slavery. In retaliation the Confederate Congress passed an act for the sequestration of all debts due northern merchants from southern buyers, and of the estates and property of all "alien enemies," these being all citizens who had not thrown in their lot with the Confederacy. The question of the negroes' position soon became urgent. As northern armies entered the southern country, the blacks flocked to their standards and were soon employed in various capacities. General Butler, in command of Fortress Monroe, declared them "contraband of war," and refugee negroes were soon known as "contrabands." The President issued an order to the effect, that the general in command must be guided by the confiscation act, when considering the status of negroes from disloyal States, but in the case of negroes from loyal slave States, the fugitive-slave law must be respected. Radical anti-slavery generals were loath to submit to this decision, and Fremont, in command of the Department of Missouri, issued a proclamation (August 30, 1861), declaring free all those slaves in the State of Missouri, whose owners were abetting rebellion or had taken up arms against the Government. Stating that the confiscation act could alone be enforced, Lincoln rescinded this order, to the disapproval of Republican extremists, who were blind to the fact that a military commander had no lawful right to free the slaves of any State. The Abolitionists very generally condemned Lincoln's policy, but the President, recognizing

the importance of retaining the border States, and their sensitiveness regarding slavery, patiently bided his time. In March, 1862, an act was passed prohibiting slavery in the present and future territories of the United States. This was followed by the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, Congress appropriating a sufficient sum of money to compensate the owners. On March 6 the President sent a special message to Congress, requesting that body to pass a joint resolution to the following effect: "Resolved, That the United States ought to coöperate with any State which may adopt gradual abolishment of slavery, giving to each State pecuniary aid, to be used by such State in its discretion, to compensate for the inconveniences, public and private, produced by such change of system." A resolution as suggested was passed, the vote in the Senate standing thirty-two to nine, and in the House eighty-nine to thirty-one; of these thirty-one nays, twenty were cast by Democrats. Lincoln hoped that the loyal slave States — Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri — would accept this generous offer. So desirous was he, that on the adjournment of Congress, he summoned the Senators and Representatives of these States to the White House, for a conference before their return home. But his arguments were of no avail; slavery was too strongly entrenched; not a State responded to the invitation to emancipate and receive payment for the slaves within her borders. In the spring of 1862, General Hunter, who commanded the Department of the South, resorted to Fremont's method of the previous summer and proclaimed free all the slaves in South Carolina, Florida and Georgia. The President promptly declared the order void, and the people of the North, now having a better understanding of the man and his methods, generally approved of his

course. The President considered that the Constitution granted neither the Executive nor Congress authority to abolish slavery, as it was a matter entirely within the jurisdiction of the States. But the time had come when emancipation was absolutely necessary, public opinion demanded it, foreign relations would be simplified by such a declaration, and it would deal a heavy blow to the Southern Confederacy. The end which had justified delay had been attained, for the border States were now safe in the fold.

What plea would legalize emancipation? The "war powers" of the President must suffice. The slaves were growing food for the Confederate troops, were serving as teamsters, were laboring in the trenches and working on fortifications; they were an active part of the great rebellion. The negro was the absolute property of his master; by the law of war the property of the enemy may be taken when needed, and in this case his property was actually injuring his antagonist; by the law of nations the freeing of the slaves was perfectly justifiable, for a nation has the unquestioned right to destroy an enemy's property. On July 22, 1862, Lincoln read to his cabinet the Emancipation Proclamation, stating that he did not ask for advice, as his mind was quite made up. At the request of Seward, he consented to delay its promulgation until a Union victory, as the recent defeats of the federal forces might lead many to view this measure as the final effort of an exhausted government. The battle of Antietam furnished the desired victory, and on September 22, 1862, Abraham Lincoln gave to the country the Emancipation Proclamation: "On the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of

a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free."

But the loyal slave States still cherished their peculiar institution; only by a constitutional amendment could slavery be destroyed throughout the length and breadth of the land. In Congress a thirteenth amendment to the Constitution declaring that slavery "should not exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction" was introduced but defeated; it was again brought forward early in the following session, was passed by the Senate in December, and on the 28th of January, 1865, passed the House amid great enthusiasm, the vote standing one hundred and nineteen to fifty-six. This amendment having been ratified by the requisite number of States became the law December 18, 1865. At last slavery was dead past all hope of resurrection.[1]

The great number of "contrabands," in the federal camps, were fed and set to work, but the question naturally arose — should not the negro share in the glorious task of obtaining his freedom? A bill was accordingly passed by Congress (June 17, 1862), which empowered the President to employ persons of African descent in suppressing the rebellion, organizing and using them, as he judged best for the public welfare, and Lincoln fully announced this policy in the final Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863). Although there was opposition to their presence in the ranks, they soon won respect by their bravery and good behavior. Officered by white men, they did excellent service, and at the close of the war there were more than one hundred thousand colored troops under arms — Lincoln's words had been

[1] The fugitive-slave bill of 1850 was repealed in June, 1864.

realized: "And there will be some black men who can remember that with silent tongue, and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on to this great consummation."

CHAPTER XXII

PRESIDENCY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

The deadly struggle between North and South was watched by Europe with deepest interest. Germany and Italy, understanding the intention of the Confederacy to establish more firmly the institution of slavery, had little sympathy with such an effort, and Russia would not countenance rebellion against established government. France intrigued throughout. Not daring to face alone the consequences of recognizing the Confederacy, Napoleon III. endeavored to induce England to join him in doing so. Had he succeeded, he expected, in return, the assistance of the South in establishing the French empire in Mexico, which showy scheme he considered a brilliant political move. North and South both looked abroad with eager anxiety; the South aware that her ultimate success depended largely upon foreign assistance, the North desiring and expecting the sympathy of England.

On May 13, 1861, the English government issued a proclamation of neutrality, which in effect acknowledged the Confederacy as a belligerent power. Although England never recognized the Confederacy as an independent government, her course was considered to be as friendly to the South as she dared to make it. This aroused deep resentment at the North, and but for the fact that the country was represented in London by an able minister

— Charles Francis Adams — who possessed all the firmness of his father and grandfather, with far greater coolness, the United States would probably have had to contend with a European war as well as with a rebellion. Why did England, the staunch advocate of liberty, favor a cause founded on human slavery? Lowell wrote at this time:

"We know we've gut a cause, John,
Thet's honest, just, an' true;
We thought 't would win applause, John,
Ef nowhere else, from you."
Ole Uncle S. sez he, "I guess
His love of right," sez he,
"Hangs by a rotten fibre o' cotton:
There's natur' in J. B.,
Ez wal ez you an' me!"

Mr. Hosea Biglow expressed the truth in homely phrase: Jealousy, prejudice and selfish greed, qualities of human nature not monopolized by John Bull, explain the attitude of England during the Civil War in America. The nobility and gentry, the merchants and manufacturers, professional men and politicians, very generally expressed sympathy for the South. There were a few notable exceptions, the Duke of Argyle, John Bright, Richard Cobden and John Stuart Mill were strong friends of the North. The leading newspapers warmly advocated the Southern cause, and their conclusions were too often the result of ignorance regarding American conditions. The laboring classes, however, very generally sympathized with the Union, and John Bright addressing the workingmen of London thus expressed, not only their own view, but the reason for the dislike of the higher classes, who felt that the success of the vigorous young republic threatened the stability of established privilege: " Privilege thinks it has a great interest

in it (the war), and every morning, with blatant voice, it comes into your streets and curses the American Republic. Privilege has beheld an afflicting spectacle for many years past. It has beheld thirty million of men, happy and prosperous, without emperor, without king, without the surroundings of a court, without nobles, except such as are made by eminence in intellect and virtue, without State bishops and State priests, — 'sole venders of the love which works salvation,' — without great armies and great navies, without great debt and without great taxes. Privilege has shuddered at what might happen to old Europe if this grand experiment should succeed... But you, the workers, — you, striving after a better time, you, struggling upwards towards the light, with slow and painful steps, — you have no cause to look with jealousy upon a country which, amongst all the great nations of the globe, is that one where labor has met with the highest honor, and where it has reaped its greatest reward... In the United States there has been, as you know, an open door for every man, and millions have entered into it, and have found rest."

English society regarded the leisure class of the South as more in accordance with their own social system than the business communities of the North. The mercantile class saw in this same busy North a rival in commerce and manufactures, growing year by year more powerful, and threatening to surpass them in their chosen field. They had always been indignant at the American system of protective tariff, which lessened the amount of their exports to the United States, but the most serious industrial disturbance, which England had experienced in many a year, was caused by the impossibility of obtaining a supply of cotton from the blockaded ports. John Bull is very sensitive in the region

of the pocket, and his pocket suffered severely. The distress resulting from the cotton famine was very great, for thousands were thrown out of work. As cotton could not be shipped to English mill-owners, the Americans, ever responsive to a cry of distress, dispatched a vessel from New York City in January, 1863, with a cargo of bread, flour and meat for the suffering operatives of the closed mills in Lancashire. In England and throughout Europe, a great number of people were convinced that republican institutions could not withstand the tremendous strain to which they were subjected, and they predicted the downfall of the United States. A distinguished American answered these doubters: "Our English critics," he said, "see only, or chiefly, in the fearful and momentous conflict in which we are engaged, 'a bursting of the bubble of Democracy'... We might with as much propriety have said that the Irish Rebellion and the Indian Mutiny showed 'the bursting of the bubble of Monarchy'!" He further remarked of bubbles in general: "For all that we know to the contrary, they are all equally liable to burst. Some famous ones, bright in royal hues, have burst within the century. Some more of the same may, not impossibly, suffer a collapse before the century has closed. So that, for this matter, 'the bubble of Democracy' must take its chance with the rest." What was imperatively required to silence the critics was "success" — convince England that the North would win, and there need be no further dread of intervention; the first two years of the war, however, were filled with disappointment and defeat, but after the summer of 1863, Vicksburg and Gettysburg pointed to the ultimate triumph of the Union, and there was no further danger that the Confederacy would be recognized.

England and America were brought to the verge of war by the affair of the "Trent," and later, by the building of Confederate vessels in English shipyards. In the autumn of 1861, James M. Mason, author of the fugitive-slave law, and John Slidell, a prominent lawyer and politician, embarked in a small steamer at Charleston, South Carolina; and on a dark and stormy night ran the blockade and reached Havana safely. These gentlemen had been appointed to represent the Confederacy at London and Paris. It was hoped that they would be received, by the governments of England and France, as envoys from an independent power; they failed to win official recognition, but they managed from first to last to give the United States a vast deal of trouble. From Havana, they embarked on the English mail-steamer "Trent" for Southampton. Captain Wilkes of the American navy, in command of the man-of-war "Jacinto," learned of their departure and the nature of their errand. He started in pursuit, and on November 8, 1861, overtook the steamer when two hundred and fifty miles from Havana; as she did not respond to his command to heave to, he fired a shot across her bows. The "Trent" was then boarded by an officer, with a party of sailors and marines, and the envoys and their secretaries, who were under the protection of the British flag, were forcibly taken from the ship in spite of the protests of the captain. Wilkes sailed north with his captives, who were there imprisoned in Fort Warren in Boston harbor. The people throughout the United States rejoiced greatly over the arrest of these prominent rebels, resolutions complimenting the impetuous captain were passed by various bodies, even by the House of Representatives. But Lincoln and Seward realized the gravity of the situation; they were

aware that Captain Wilkes could not be defended; although his act was unauthorized by the Government, they must answer for it, and it was undoubtedly illegal. The storm soon burst. The English minister for Foreign Affairs, Lord Russell, demanded the surrender of the prisoners and a suitable apology for the affront. At the same time the English government[1] ordered eight thousand troops to Canada, and issued a proclamation forbidding the export of arms and ammunition. As America had gone to war with Great Britain in 1812, in defense of the very principle that Captain Wilkes had violated, there was no honorable course open to her but to reply, as Secretary Seward now did, that "the United States Government could not deny the justice of the claim presented" and that the four prisoners would be "cheerfully liberated." They were delivered to a British sloop-of-war on January 1, 1862, and although the incident terminated peaceably, it unfortunately engendered much ill-feeling in both countries. This was increased by the action, or rather lack of action, by the English government in regard to the building of Confederate privateers in English dock-yards. The first of these vessels was known as the "Florida." Within three months she captured fifteen American merchant ships. She had been built ostensibly for the Italian government, but Mr. Adams understood this subterfuge, and warned the English government of her real purpose. Like many similar warnings it was of no avail. Vessels intended for the Confederate service were built in British shipyards; sailed away under the British flag; in some quiet harbor received their armament; then hoisting the Confederate flag steamed away

[1] Lord Palmerston was Prime Minister of England and Lord Lyons was the English minister at Washington.

to prey upon American commerce. The most famous of these privateers was the "Alabama," which was built by the well known firm of the Lairds in their dockyards on the Mersey. Obtaining full particulars of the character of this vessel, Mr. Adams informed the authorities and requested her detention; legal difficulties arose, and while the authorities procrastinated, the cause of the commotion slipped out to sea (July 29, 1862), much to the delight of southern sympathizers and the openly expressed satisfaction of the English press. While under construction, the vessel had been designated the "290," but once at sea Captain Semmes took command and named her the "Alabama." During her career of two years the "Alabama" captured some seventy northern vessels. Captain Semmes' plan of action was very simple; ships were decoyed by the British flag flying from the privateer; when within range were fired upon; the Confederate flag was displayed and the prize seized. These captured ships were generally burned, and many such torches lighted up the Atlantic. The "Alabama" was finally destroyed by the United States ship-of-war "Kearsarge," in a fierce fight off the coast of France near Cherbourg June 19, 1864. Mr. Justin McCarthy remarks: "The 'Alabama' was practically an English vessel. She was built by English builders in an English dockyard; she was manned, for the most part, by an English crew; her guns were English; her gunners were English;...she sailed under the English flag, was welcomed in English harbors, and never was in, or even saw, a Confederate port." In the autumn of 1863 two formidable iron rams were built for the purpose of opening Southern ports. On September 5th, Mr. Adams wrote to Lord Russell, that one of these rams was about to sail, and quietly remarked: "It would be superfluous

in me to point out to your lordship that this is war." Three days later he received the following reply: "Lord Russell presents his compliments to Mr. Adams, and has the honor to inform him that instructions have been issued which will prevent the departure of the two iron-clad vessels from Liverpool." It is now known that the order had been given two days before the receipt of Mr. Adams' note, although the American minister was unaware of the fact. The Northern victories in the previous summer had had due effect.

When the day of reckoning came, in the summer of 1873, the decision of the Geneva tribunal held England responsible for the depredations of the "Alabama," the "Florida," and the "Shenandoah," and awarded a sum of about three millions and a quarter sterling, to be paid by England to the United States, in settlement of all claims of owners and shippers who had suffered by these privateers. A heavy price to pay for misplaced sympathy.

During these years filled with the turmoil of war, Abraham Lincoln carried a heavy burden of care and responsibility that deepened the lines of sadness in that rugged face. The year and a half following the fall of Sumter was a period of disaster and defeat, for the great military leaders had not yet come to the front, although they had already arisen in the West. The dissatisfaction engendered by the conduct of the war, was manifested at the polls in the autumn of 1862, when the New England States with Delaware, Iowa, Michigan, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, California and Oregon alone gave Republican majorities, and these in most cases seriously diminished. The President's own State, Illinois, elected to Congress eleven Democrats and but three Republicans. In the thirty-seventh Congress the Democrats numbered

forty-four, in the thirty-eighth there would be seventy-five; the Republican majority was cut down to twenty. So serious a defeat at the polls was equivalent to a vote of censure for the administration. Several causes aside from the military reverses led to this result. The radical Abolitionists disliked the President's prudent treatment of the question of slavery, and many good citizens were alarmed by the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and the arbitrary arrests that followed. They rightly considered, that in disloyal States the military power should have full sway, but that it was unnecessary to set aside constitutional safeguards, where the regular courts of law were in full operation. Another class, noting the vast amounts of legal-tender issue, declared that the country would be bankrupted by an inflated paper currency and the wasteful expenditure of public funds. The "copperheads," declaring "the war a failure," were the most mischievous element at the North; fortunately, they were only a section of the Democratic party, the larger number being most loyal and known as "War Democrats." But notwithstanding this discontent there was a determination to carry on the war and save the Union. When Lincoln in the early summer of 1862 called for 300,000 fresh troops, a popular song of the day declared: "We're coming, Father Abraham, 300,000 more," and the brave volunteers filled out the quota of each State. But the feverish intensity of the early patriotic uprising could not be maintained during four years; as opportunities for money-making were developed by the war, men were induced to enter business rather than the army, and volunteering no longer sufficed to replace the enormous losses in the field. In the spring of 1863, a Conscription Act was passed. By this act the raising of troops was undertaken by the

Government instead of by the States as hitherto. The country was divided into enrollment districts, usually corresponding to the State congressional districts, and within these limits all able-bodied citizens, between the ages of twenty and forty-five years, were enrolled to be drafted as troops were required. The conscription throughout the South was much more severe and was passed a year earlier; in the last desperate struggle, so many youths and old men were found in the rebel ranks, that it was said the Confederacy had "robbed the cradle and the grave" to obtain recruits for her armies.

At the North the draft was most unpopular; the "copperheads" declared the Conscription Act unconstitutional; and the laboring classes grumbled at that clause of the bill which permitted any person drafted to furnish a substitute, or become exempt by the payment of three hundred dollars to the government. This, it was argued, permitted the rich man to escape service, and forced the poor man into the army. There was some excitement throughout the country when the drafting began, but the most serious trouble was in New York City, with its large foreign population. This element declared its unwillingness "to fight for niggers," and a riot resulted (July 13, 1863), which lasted four days. A large amount of property was destroyed, inoffensive blacks were hung to trees and lampposts, the Colored Orphan Asylum was attacked, and the building burned to the ground; the inmates through the efforts of a force of police fortunately reaching a place of safety. But this same summer was to witness the turning of the tide; great Union victories cheered the people, and united them more firmly to support the Government and carry the war to a successful conclusion.

The President was fortunate in his cabinet, for Seward

proved to be an able Secretary of State, Chase a most capable Secretary of the Treasury, and Edwin M. Stanton an efficient and energetic Secretary of War, although most unpopular by reason of his lack of tact and brusqueness of manner. The previous secretary, Cameron, had conducted the business of the War Department with extravagance and lack of system, and was formally dismissed by Lincoln January 11, 1862. Under Stanton's management abuses soon ceased to exist, and rigid order and honesty prevailed. Chase was an aspirant for the presidency in 1864, and, embittered by the collapse of his hopes, did not hesitate to write and speak of Lincoln in disparaging terms. His conduct provoked friction, and finally, disagreeing over an appointment, he tendered his resignation, which was accepted, and William Pitt Fessenden, an able financier, succeeded him in June, 1864. Four months later, on the death of Chief-Justice Taney, Lincoln appointed Chase to the vacant position for which he was well fitted by his integrity and legal knowledge.

Although the war was not ended, "reconstruction" was forced upon public attention and indicated the complexity of the questions to be fully decided in the future. What was to be the position in the body politic of States lately in rebellion? The President realized the danger of sectional enmity in a federation of States, and desired to pave the way for reconciliation. He contended that the States had never been out of the Union, as they had no power to secede; in the disloyal States the government was simply suspended, while violence prevented the rightful conduct of public affairs; when order was restored, the loyal element was entitled to continue the State government as before. Those prominently engaged in attacking the Government should, naturally, be

excluded from any participation in its affairs, and all others, lately in arms, should be willing to take the oath of allegiance, if they desired to resume the rights of citizenship. All acts of the Congress of the United States were of course applicable to these States, although for obvious reasons they had not yet been enforced. The questions involved occasioned much friction in and out of Congress.

On December 8, 1863, the President accompanied his annual message by a Proclamation of Amnesty. By this all rebels, except officers above the rank of colonel, and all who left seats in Congress, or resigned commissions in the army or navy, to engage in the rebellion, who now desired to return to their allegiance, could do so by taking an oath "to support, protect, and defend" the Constitution and the Union, and to abide by all legislation and proclamations concerning slavery made during the rebellion. Those taking this oath were to be restored to all rights and all property except slaves, unless the rights of third parties should have intervened. The proclamation also announced that in any State in rebellion, whenever the citizens qualified by this oath, and equalling in number one-tenth the voters in the year 1860, should establish a State government, republican in form and not contravening the oath, it should be recognized as the true Government and so declared by a proclamation of the President, and the State should receive the protection guaranteed to every State by the Constitution of the United States. Furthermore, the State could make provision for the freedmen, declaring them permanently free, or providing for their education or general welfare. At first this proclamation was received with approval, but its conciliatory tone soon provoked unfavorable comment. Was there to be no pun-

ishment for those who had forced the North to such an appalling loss, the life-blood of the nation poured out as water? Was the great task of reconstruction to be undertaken by the Executive, without the aid of the Legislative department; was a President's proclamation to possess this power? Opinion varied, from those who agreed with the President, to those who considered that the whole South should be reduced to a territory from which new States should be formed at the will of their conquerors. Congress was soon called upon to take action. A bill was introduced by Henry Winter Davis which passed both Houses after much debate, and was placed before the President for approval on July 4, 1864, the last day of the session. This bill declared that when hostilities ceased in any State the white male citizens were to call a convention to frame a state government. This must disfranchise all civil and military officers of the Confederacy, abolish slavery, and repudiate all indebtedness incurred for Confederate purposes. This was not unlike the Proclamation of Amnesty, but had one striking difference: the government thus formed must be accepted by Congress, and the President's share in the proceedings consisted in issuing a proclamation declaring the reorganized State a member of the Union. The President did not sign this bill. He disapproved of the form in which it was drawn as indicating that the States must reënter the Union. He also considered that Congress had no constitutional power to abolish slavery; that he had done so himself, was on the authority of the "war powers" of the President. The refusal to sign the bill aroused the wrath of a large number of Republicans, who did not hesitate to censure the President in severe terms.

The presidential campaign of 1864 was complicated by

these differences of opinion. The discontented, radical Republicans called a convention, which met at Cleveland on May 31st, and nominated John C. Fremont for President, and John C. Cochran for Vice-President. Recognizing the futility of his candidacy, in September Fremont withdrew his name. The National Republican Convention met at Baltimore on June 7th. On the first ballot Abraham Lincoln received the vote of every State except Missouri, her delegates casting a solid vote for General Grant, but subsequently transferring it in order to make the nomination unanimous. Andrew Johnson of Tennessee was selected for Vice-President, in order to disprove the assertion that the Republicans were a "sectional party," by naming a southern man. He was a "War Democrat" and a strong Unionist. Lincoln did not attempt to disguise his desire for a renomination, which would mark public approval of his course and afford him the opportunity of completing his great work of saving the Union. Yet always modest, he said in answering the congratulations of the National Union League: "I do not allow myself to suppose that either the Convention or the League have concluded to decide that I am either the greatest or the best man in America, but rather they have concluded it is not best to swap horses while crossing the river, and have further concluded that I am not so poor a horse that they might not make a botch of it in trying to swap."

On August 29th the Democratic National Convention met at Chicago and nominated on the first ballot George B. McClellan for President. George H. Pendleton was nominated for Vice-President. The following was the most important plank in their platform: "That this Convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that after four years of failure to restore

the Union by the experiment of war... justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate Convention of the States or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States." The first statement in this resolve was brought to naught within eight months; for by the middle of April (1865) the shattered Southern armies, completely routed, were forced to lay down their arms; the war was over; the South prostrate; her "cause" utterly lost.

The futility of attempting to end the war in any other manner than by conquest, was shown by the unsuccessful "peace missions" undertaken by individuals, well-meaning but mistaken. Horace Greeley wrote to the President in July, 1864, a fervid letter begging him to embrace the opportunity of achieving an honorable peace, by opening negotiations with southern commissioners, understood by Mr. Greeley to be in Canada. The President deputed his correspondent to proceed to Niagara, and if he found the supposed envoys to be properly accredited to bring them to Washington. As Lincoln had surmised, the Southerners had no authority to act in the matter. The sentiments of the Confederate Government were explicitly stated, in that same month of July, by Jefferson Davis in answer to Rev. Colonel Jaquess and Mr. J. R. Gilmore, who were in Richmond on an unauthorized peace-mission. Davis said: "I desire peace as much as you do;... but the war must go on until the last man of this generation falls in his tracks, and his children seize his musket and fight our battle, unless you acknowledge our right to self-government. We are not fighting for Slavery. We are

fighting for Independence; and that or extermination we *will have.*"

The presidential election was held on November 8, 1864. Lincoln received two hundred and twelve electoral votes, and McClellan twenty-one — those of the States of New Jersey, Delaware and Kentucky.

During the winter following, the war drew rapidly to a close, and on March 4, 1865, Abraham Lincoln again took the oath as President of the United States. Even to-day we feel a thrill of emotion as we read the closing words of his second inaugural address: "'Woe unto the world because of offenses! for it must needs be that offenses come; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh.' If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God will that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.' With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne

the battle, and for his widow and his orphans; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations." Thus spoke the man who had triumphantly carried his country through a life or death struggle, who had emancipated a race, and who saw before him the task of reconstructing a nation.

The Northern troops entered Richmond on April 3 (1865), and the following account of a dramatic and suggestive incident is given by Nicolay and Hay: "A colored regiment...led by a grandson of President John Quincy Adams, shared with the two white regiments... the honor of a march into the rebel capital on the day of its surrender... The white people of Richmond disappeared from the streets, and the black population streamed forth... To see this compact, organized body of men of their own color, on horseback, in neat uniforms, with flashing sabres, with a gleam of confidence in their eyes, was a palpable reality to which their hope and pride, long repressed, gave instant response. They greeted them with expressions of welcome in every form — cheers, shouts, laughter, and a rattle of exclamations — as they rushed along the sides of the streets to keep pace with the advancing column, and feast their eyes on the incredible sight; while the black Union soldiers rose high in their stirrups and with waving swords and deafening huzzas acknowledged the fraternal reception."

On the 9th of April General Lee surrendered to General Grant at Appomattox Court House, and it was known that the last remaining army of the South must surrender to General Sherman within a few days. These tidings of great joy filled the North with thanksgivings; the war was ended, and the great, free republic was more

firmly established than ever before; the astonished world had to acknowledge that democratic institutions possessed all the tenacity of monarchical forms; the wonderful resources, the strength and vitality of the nation were a marvel to all.

On the 13th of April James Russell Lowell wrote to Charles Eliot Norton: "The news, my dear Charles, is from Heaven. I felt a strange and tender exaltation. I wanted to laugh and I wanted to cry, and ended by holding my peace and feeling devoutly thankful. There is something magnificent in having a country to love. It is almost like what one feels for a woman. Not so tender, perhaps, but to the full as self-forgetful." In this season of well-earned happiness, of universal rejoicing by a people who had borne the burden and heat of the day, the blow fell that turned their joy to grief. Abraham Lincoln was assassinated by John Wilkes Booth, a fanatical Southerner, while attending a play at Ford's Theatre, on the evening of April 14th. He died the next morning, never regaining consciousness after the fatal shot was fired. Many can recall that April morning, to which Mr. Lowell alludes in the closing words of his essay upon Abraham Lincoln, and can testify to their truth: "Never before that startled April morning, did such multitudes of men shed tears for the death of one they had never seen, as if with him a friendly presence had been taken away from their lives, leaving them colder and darker. Never was funeral panegyric so eloquent as the silent look of sympathy which strangers exchanged when they met on that day. Their common manhood had lost a kinsman."

This man of rigid honesty and strict integrity was democratic in the best sense, with much of the native flavor of the soil; full of American humor and withal

tender of heart; loving his country with quiet intensity, and taking the wide outlook of the statesman, who sees not to-day only, but the distant to-morrow. Abraham Lincoln shared the common weakness of the race, on occasion he blundered and was mistaken, but he felt impelled to do his duty, and struggled toward the right as God gave him to see it. He left what he had not found — a nation. The doctrine of "state rights" was dead, although the constitutional rights of the States were unimpaired.

Time has effaced the scars of war, and as the United States has advanced to her position as a great world power, her whole people have proudly recognized the greatness and the influence of her national life. To this prosperous and united people, a distinguished American has uttered a word of warning and of inspiration in the following message to his countrymen: "What we want is an active class who will insist in season and out of season that we shall have a country whose greatness is measured, not only by its square miles, its number of yards woven, of hogs packed, of bushels of wheat raised, not only by its skill to feed and clothe the body, but also by its power to feed and clothe the soul; a country that shall be as great morally as it is materially; a country whose very name shall not only, as now it does, stir us as with the sound of a trumpet, but shall call out all that is best within us by offering us the radiant image of something better and nobler and more enduring than WE, of something that shall fulfil our own thwarted aspirations, when we are but a handful of forgotten dust in the soil trodden by a race whom we shall have helped to make more worthy of their inheritance than we ourselves have the power, I might almost say the means, to be."

INDEX

Aberdeen, Lord, 291.

Abolition movement. See Slavery.

Adams, Charles Francis, 302, 328; minister to England, 398; in relation to Southern privateers, 403.

Adams, John, 55; moved to organize state governments, 88; seconds motion for independence, 91; letter on independence, 94; commissioner to negotiate treaty of peace, 106; negotiates commercial treaties, 116; at the court of George III., 117; remarks of Jay, 150; 160, 172; life of, 174; quarrels with Hamilton, 175, 182; cabinet of, 175; difficulty with France, 175; signs obnoxious acts, 177; appoints Washington to command of army, 180; appoints minister to France, 181; election of, goes to the House, 183; hated by the Federalists, 184; appoints Marshall chief justice, 185; 189, 205, 207; character of, 238; death of, 243.

Adams, John Quincy, 201; peace commissioner, 216; 218, 229, 233; secretary of state, 231; 232, 235; candidacy of, 236; life of, 238; letter to his mother, 238; diary of, 239; opposition to, 241; corrupt bargain alleged, 242, 247; proposes internal improvements, 246; removals from office, 246; in second presidential campaign, 248; close of administration, 250; 203, 265; part in abolition crusade, 275; contends for right to petition, 275; death of, 278; 279; on slavery, 326.

Adams, Samuel, life, 29, 30; on the right to tax, 31; presents Massachusetts resolves, 36; 47; circular letter, 48; ordered to England for trial, 49; Vindex letters, 52; in Boston massacre, 54; on pensioned judges, 57; moves committee of correspondence, 57; in Boston tea-party, 62; ruse to secure appointment of congressional delegates, 74; attempts to bribe, 75; 77, 81, 85, 89; ex-

presses joy of people over independence, 95; influence of, for adoption of constitution, 142.
"Alabama," southern privateer, 404.
Alamance, battle of, 57.
Alien act, provisions of, 177; 190.
Ames, Fisher, in debate on Jay Treaty, 170.
Anderson, Major Robert, 370; 376; defends Fort Sumter, 378.
Andros, Sir Edmund, unpopular governor, 21.
Annapolis Convention, 130.
Annapolis Naval Academy established, 297.
Anti-Federalist party, origin of, 139.
Anti-Masonic party, account of, 267.
Argyle, Duke of, 399.
Arlington, Earl of, 8.
Armstrong, Major John, Newburgh Letter, 113.
Ashburton, Lord, 288.
Association of United Colonies, 78.
Assumption, 152.
Astor, John Jacob, 232.

Bacon, Nathaniel, 8.
Bainbridge, Captain, 193.
Bancroft, George, on representative government in Virginia, 5; 296.
Bancroft, Frederick, on suspension of writ of habeas corpus, 391.
Banks, National, Tyler's course regarding, 287; act to establish, 388.
Banks, United States, first, 155; failure to recharter, 210; second chartered, 219; vestigation of, 222; attack on, and destruction of, 264, 268.
Barré, Isaac, on stamp-act, 32; 64.
Bates, Edward, 376, 377.
Bayard, Senator, 216.
Beauregard, General, 378.
Beecher, Henry Ward, on slavery, 315; on Kansas Conflict, 329.
Bell, John, 364.
Benton, Thomas H., on Clay-Randolph duel, 248; 262; on U. S. Bank, 266; moves to expunge, 281; 301; assault on, 312; opposes Kansas-Nebraska bill, 324.
Berkeley, Sir William, 7; 8.
Biddle, Nicholas, U. S. Bank troubles, 264, 268, 282.
Birney, James G., 293, 294.
Black Jeremiah S., 342; opinion of slavery, 371.
Blaine, James G., on the slave power, 336.
Blair, Francis P., 254.
Blair, Montgomery, 376, note 377.
Blennerhassett, Harmon, 203.
Booth, John Wilkes, 415.
Boston Massacre, 53.
Boston Port Bill, provisions of, 63; received in America, 68.
Bowles, Samuel, 323.

Breckenridge, John C., 363.
Bright, John, on English sympathy for the South, 399.
Brooks, Preston, assaults Sumner, 331; sustained by South, 331.
Brown, Aaron V., 342.
Brown, John, life of, 354; in Virginia raid, 356; trial and execution, 357; letter to his wife, 358; result of his course, 359.
Bryant, William Cullin, 323, 333, 360.
Bryce, James, on war powers of President of U. S., 392.
Buchanan, James, 283, 298; nominated for President, 332; elected, 333; cabinet of, 342; panic of 1857, 344; desires to purchase Cuba, 344; approves Lecompton Constitution, 348; quarrels with Douglas, 349; special message to Congress, 349; Kansas to be admitted by proclamation of, 351; weakness of, 368; signs a 13th amendment, 370; reorganizes his cabinet, 371.
Buford, Colonel, fits out emigrants for Kansas, 329.
Bulwer, Henry Lytton, 310.
Burgesses, House of, authority of, 5; establishes trial by jury, 5; grants ballot to all freeman, 6; passes tyrannical laws, 7; Long Assembly, 9; secures right of taxation to the people, 9; resolutions on stamp-act, 34.
Burke, Edmund, on motion to repeal tax on tea, 65; on conciliation of the colonies, 80; 83, 105.
Burgoyne, General John, 81, 99.
Burns, Anthony, fugitive slave, returned in Boston, 325.
Burr, Aaron, intrigues for the presidency, 183; life of, 193; duel with Hamilton, 195; treasonable scheme of, 202.
Butler, Benjamin F., declares slaves contraband of war, 393.

Cadore, Duke of, on Napoleon's good-will towards America, 209.
Calhoun, John C., life of, 235; 247, 249; arouses Jackson's animosity, 256; on nullification, 257, 260, 262; southern leader, 263; 281; in Tyler's cabinet, 290, 295; 301, 304; on compromise of 1850, 307.
California, state of, 303; contest over admission, 304, 311.
Camden, Lord, 102, 106.
Cameron, Simon, 376, 408.
Campbell, John A., 377.
Canning (Lord Stratford de Redclyffe), interview with J. Q. Adams, 233.
Cass, Lewis, 302, 342, 371.
Charles I., 6.
Charles II., 7, 8; determines on submission of Massachusetts, 19.
Charleston Mercury, newspa-

per, on Lecompton Constitution, 347.
Chase, Salmon P., 321; on Kansas-Nebraska bill, 322; 376, note 377; on legal-tender act, 388; appointed chief-justice, 408.
Chatham, Lord. See Pitt.
Chauncy, Rev. Charles, sermon on repeal of stamp-act, 41.
"Chesapeake," frigate, 200.
Choate, Rufus, 263; on the compromise of 1850, 317.
Cincinnati, Society of the, 108.
Circular Letter, 32.
Clay, Henry, life of, 212; peace commissioner, 216; 218, 227; his American system, 233, 235; 262; in presidential contest, 236; secretary of state, 242; corrupt bargain alleged, 242, 247; proves charge false, 248; duel with Randolph, 248; a great leader, 249; tariff compromise, 263; in U. S. Bank contest, 266; carries through vote of censure, 269; 281, 283, 285; condemns Tyler, 287; influence of, 292; presidential campaign of, 292; 301, 304; compromise of 1850, 305; speech on bill, 306; 311; death of, 318; 335.
Clayton, John M., 263; negotiates treaty, 310.
Cleveland, Grover, 122.
Clinton, George, 92, 131; opposes constitution, 143; 145, 166; defeats Jay, 171; 195; elected vice-president, 205; 247.
Clinton, Sir Henry, 81, 90.
Cobb, Howell, 342, 371.
Cobden, Richard, 399.
Cochran, John C., 411.
Colonies, independence of, 2; by whom established, 4; French colonies in America, 23; relation of, to mother country, 24.
Compromise, Missouri, contest in Congress, 225; contest renewed, 226; Maine bill, 227; compromise accepted, 228; 301; repeal of, moved, 320; debated, 321; northern indignation at, 324; opinion of Supreme Court, 340.
Compromise, of 1850, provisions of, 305; contest in Congress, 306, 309; bill passes, 311.
Confederacy, New England, 16.
Confederacy, Southern, preparation for, 365; government formed, 366; commissioners to U. S., 376; strength of, 383; foreign loan of, 385; sequestration act, 393; European commissioners of, 402; building privateers in England, 403; conscription in, 407.
Confederation, articles of, drafted, 95; adopted, 96; weakness of, 112, 123; 133.
Congress, 1st Continental, delegates appointed, 74; election of Massachusetts dele-

gates, 74; convenes, 76; receives Suffolk Resolves, 77; forms association of United Colonies, 78; state-papers, 78.

2d Continental, convened, 86; address to king, 87; measures of, 87; sovereign powers of, 90; Declaration of Independence, 91; army measures, 97.

7th Continental, refuses to negotiate with British commissioners, 101.

During the Confederation. Claims of soldiers, 114; retires to Princeton, 155; paper money issues, 121; national tariff proposed, 126; calls national convention, 131; (14th and last Continental Congress adjourns October 21, 1788).

Under the Constitution. I. Congress organizes new government, 146; assumption, 152; accepts cession of Tennessee, 153; Vermont admitted, 153; passes excise, 153.

II., investigation of Treasury department, 160; passes fugitive-slave law, 161.

IV., demands papers relating to Jay treaty, 169.

V., passes new naturalization law and alien and sedition bills, 177.

X., passes embargo, 201; enforcing act, 202; forbids importation of slaves, 204.

XI., passes Macon bill No. 2, 208, adopts rule of previous question, 211.

XII., declares war against England, 214.

XVI. See Compromise, Missouri.

XIX., desires Canada to surrender fugitive slaves, 243.

XXII., passes compromise tariff bill, 263.

XXXI. See Compromise of 1850.

XXXIII. See Kansas-Nebraska bill.

XXXIV., difficulty in electing speaker of House, 330.

XXXVI., last to assemble under the old régime, 359; treasonable utterances, 360; peace proposals, 369.

XXXVII., loan bill passed, 385; legal-tender act passed, 386; slavery prohibited in U. S. territories, 394; pecuniary aid offered States to abolish slavery, 394; authorizes negro troops, 396; conscription act, 406.

XXXVIII., 13th amendment to the constitution adopted, 396; preparing for reconstruction, 408.

Connecticut, Hartford founded, 16; constitution of, 17.

Conscription act, 406.

Constitution, U. S., secures religious freedom, 118; formation of (see Constitutional

Convention) presented to Congress, 139; ratified by the States, 140; amendments to, 140; in Pennsylvania assembly, 141; efforts for adoption of, in Massachusetts, 141; struggle for adoption of, in Virginia, 142; in New York, 143; rejoicing over adoption, 144; 12th amendment adopted, 190; 258; 13th amendment, 370, 396.
Constitutional Convention, call for, 130; convened, 133; resolved to establish supreme government, 133; Virginia plan, 133; Connecticut compromise, 135; Madison's compromise, 136; 3d compromise, 136; electoral college, 137; supreme court, 138; signing of, 139.
Constitutional Union Party, 364.
Contrabands, 393.
Conway, General, moves reneal of stamp-act, 40; 64, 102; moves cessation of the war, 105; 106.
Correspondence, committees of, appointed, 58; intercolonial, 59; circular on tea-tax, 60; 78.
Cotton-gin. See Whitney, Eli.
Cotton, Rev. John, sermon on rotation in office, 18.
Crawford, William Harris, 235, 237, 256.
Crittenden compromise, 369.
Crittenden, John J., 369.
Culpepper, Lord, granted colony Virginia, 8, note.
Cumberland Road, 234, 271.
Currency, depreciation of, 121; differing values, 122; debasing of, 122; national, 122; paper-money craze, 128; mint established, 155; postal currency, 387; fluctuations of gold, 387.
Curtis, Judge Benjamin R., Dred Scott decision, 341.
Curtis, George William, the scholar in politics, 333.

Dalrymple, Colonel, 50; refuses to remove troops, 54.
Dana, Francis, 240.
Davie, Governor, 181.
Davis, Henry Winter, 410.
Davis, Jefferson, 301, 310; in Pierce's cabinet, 319; 326; on attitude of the North, 349; 351; president of Southern confederacy, 366; 369; sends commissioners to U. S. government, 376; reply to peace commissioners, 412.
Deane, Silas, 99.
Dearborn, Henry, 190.
Declaration of Independence, adoption of, 92; reception of, 95.
Declaratory Resolves, 28.
Democratic (Republican) party, origin of, 157; principles of democrats and national-republicans, 249; democratic masses greet Jackson, 253; responsible for spoils sys-

tem, 253; loss of power in the North, 327; disruption of, 362.
Department, of State, treasury and war established, 146; of the navy, 180; of the interior, 297.
Dickinson, John, farmers' letters, 47; 87, 90; opposes declaration, 92; drafts Articles of Confederation, 95; 132.
Dix, John A., 301; famous dispatch, 372.
Donations, committee of, addresses received, 70.
Douglas, Stephen A., 301; on fugitive-slave law, 314; introduces Kansas-Nebraska bill, 319; angers the North, 320; fights for his bill, 321; remarks on bill, 324; 343; votes with republicans, 346; on Lecompton election, 348; quarrels with Buchanan, 349; votes against compromise, 351; debates with Lincoln, 352; defeat at Charleston, 362; nominated for President, 363; 364; patriotism of, 372.
Duane, William J., 269.
Duddingston, Lieutenant, 57.

Eaton, John H., 254.
Eaton, Mrs. John H., a cause of contention, 255.
Ellsworth, Oliver, 132; presents Connecticut compromise, 135; 181.
Emancipation proclamation, 140, 395.
Embargo acts passed, 201; repealed, 202.
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 315, 333.
English, William H., compromise of, 351.
Erskine, David Montague, 207.
Evarts, William M., 364.
Everett, Edward, 263; account of, 321; on Kansas-Nebraska bill, 322; 364; on northern army, 383.

Federalist Party, origin of, 139; causes of downfall of, 178, 184; Adams-Hamilton feud, 182.
Fenton, Colonel, attempts to bribe Samuel Adams, 75.
Fessenden, William Pitt, 408.
Fillmore, Millard, life of, 284, 302; becomes president, 311; 317; again nominated for president, 333; 335.
Fiske, John, on the town-meeting, 2; on cession of western lands, 110; on result of slave representation, 136; on the men who established the government, 185.
"Florida," Confederate privateer, 403.
Floyd, John B., 342, 371.
Foote, Samuel A., 260; assaults Benton, 312.
Forcing act, in Rhode Island, 129.
Fox, Captain, 376.

Fox, Charles James, 64; questions Lord North, 101; 102, 105.
Franklin, Benjamin, presents Albany plan, 26; life of, 82; 86; postmaster-general, 87; 89, 92; minister to France, 99; peace commissioner, 106; 116, 131, 138; remarks on "rising sun" of government, 139; vigorous measures in Pennsylvania assembly, 141; death of, 141.
Franklin, State, 111.
Frederick the Great, 102.
Free-soil party, 293.
Frelinghuysen, Theodore, 293.
Fremont, John C., 332; attempts to free slaves, 393; 411.
Fréneau, Philip, attacks Ham-
Fries, John, 180. [ilton, 159.
Frothingham, Richard, on inter-colonial committees of correspondence, 59.
Fugitive-slave laws. See Slavery.

Gadsden, Christopher, pleads for unity of action, 35.
Gage, General, 35; quartering troops, 50; 54; governor of Massachusetts, 67; enforces Boston Port bill, 69; 71, 75, 77, 81.
Gallatin, Albert, 190; able management of treasury, 206; 207, 208; minister to Russia, 210; peace commissioner, 216; 218, 242.
Galloway, Joseph, 76.
Garrison, William Lloyd, life of, 271; reply to Rev. M. May, 289; 293, 309.
"Gaspee," revenue schooner, 57.
Gates, General Horatio, 113.
Gaulden, Mr., on benefits of negro slavery, 345.
Genêt, Edmond Charles, attempts to embroil America and England, 164.
Geneva award, 405.
George III., English politics during reign of, 25; approves stamp act, 28; determined to maintain supremacy of the crown, 43, 45, 59; proclamation declaring colonies in rebellion, 87; hires foreign troops, 87, 96; refuses to accept Whig ministry, 102; receives news of Yorktown, 104; events following Yorktown, 105; receives American minister, 117.
Gerry, Elbridge, 132, 138; mininister to France, 176; 214.
Gilmore, J. R., 412.
Gladstone, William E., on constitution of U. S., 133.
Grafton, Duke of, 88, 106.
Grant, General Ulysses S., on Mexican war, 299; losses in Virginia campaign, 384; 411, 414.
Green, John R., on responsibility for Revolution, 83; on results of Revolution, 105.
Green, Mrs. Nathaniel, 223.
Greeley, Horace, on Missouri

compromise, 229; 308; on Douglas, 321, 324; as peacemaker, 412.
Grenville, George, presents declaratory resolves, 28; on stamp act, 38; 41, 167.

Hamilton, Alexander, 92; address to the States, 131; 134, 138; writes papers of *Federalist*, 143; 147, 149; life of, 150; financial measures of, 152; plan for national bank, 154; argues from the elastic clause, 154; report on manufactures, 155; value of his reports, 156; leads Federalists, 157; opposition encountered by, 159; friction between Hamilton and Jefferson, 166; supports Jay treaty, 168; quarrels with Adams, 175, 180, 182; 185; duel with Burr, 195; character of, 196.
Hamlin, Hannibal, 364.
Hancock, John, 49; president provincial Congress, 72; 81, 85; president continental Congress, 86; slights Washington, 148.
Harrison, William Henry, 280, 283; campaign of, 285; death, 286.
Harte, Bret, "Argonauts of '49," 304.
Hartford, founded, 16.
Hayes, Rutherford B., 241.
Hayne, Robert Y., 260.
Harvard College founded, 13.
Helper, Hinton R., 359.
Henry, Patrick, resolutions on stamp act, 34; proposes inter-colonial Committee of Correspondence, 59; 77, 89; opposes constitution, 143.
Hildreth, Richard, traces commencement of American Union, 78.
Hillsborough, Lord, orders circular letter rescinded, 48; must humble America, 51.
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, 333; on public opinion, 372.
Holt, Joseph, 371.
Hooker, Rev. Thomas, founds Hartford, 16; political sermon, 17.
Hopkinson, Stephen, on transportation for trial, 57.
Houston, Samuel, 279.
Howe, Lord, 81.
Howe, William, 81, 85.
Hunter, General David, 394.
Hutchinson, Chief-Justice and Governor, grants writs of assistance, 28; mob destroys his house, 36; action after Boston Massacre, 53; action regarding tea-ships, 62.

Independent, newspaper, urges republicans to vote, 333; on John Brown, 359.
Irving, Washington, 333.

Jackson, Andrew, wins battle of New Orleans, 215; in Seminole war, 231; governor of Florida, 232; 235; the

"people's candidate," 236; opens campaign, 247; elected president, 249; makes removals from office, 253; Kitchen Cabinet, 254; the Eaton affair, 255; on nullification, 261, 264; course regarding U. S. Bank, 264, 268; desires Texas, 278; 280; vote of censure on him expunged, 281; life of, 251, 281; 283, 335, 369.
Jackson, Francis James, 207.
Jaquess, Rev. Colonel, 412.
Jay, John, moves address to king, 87; 92; presents Declaration to New York assembly, 95; peace commissioner, 106; 142; writes papers for *Federalist*, 144, 147; life of, 149; negotiates commercial treaty with England, 167; elected governor of New York, 171.
Jefferson, Thomas, on the township, 1; 86, 89; on motion for independence, 91; writes Declaration of Independence, 92; reasons for eliminating clause referring to slavery, 94; on Franklin, 99; commissioner to negotiate commercial treaties, 116; writes Virginia statute, 118; 123, 149; leader republican party, 157; 166; retires from the Cabinet, 167; 172, 179, 181, 182; election goes to the house, 183; 185; life of, 187; inaugurated, 188; makes removals from office, 189; institutes retrenchment, 189; Cabinet, 190; purchases Louisiana, 191; reelected, 196; efforts for improving the navy, 199; rejects a treaty, 200; on attack on "Chesapeake," 200; advocates embargo, 201; favors law forbidding importation of slaves, 204; state of the treasury under, 205; retires to Monticello, 205, 206, 207; death of, 243.
Johnson, Andrew, 301, 411.
Johnson, Herschel V., 363.
Johnson, Reverdy, 301.
Johnson, Richard M., 281.

Kansas Conflict, 328, 332; carried to Congress, 345; termination of, 351; John Brown in, 355.
Kansas-Nebraska Bill, introduced, 319; effect on North, 320; debated, 321; signed, 324; effect of, 324, 327.
"Kearsarge," ship of war, destroys privateer "Alabama," 404.
Kendall, Amos, 255.
King, Rufus, offers motion for constitutional convention, 131; letter from Adams to, 184; 221, 242.
Know-nothing party, 332.
Knox, General, 149, 180.

Lafayette, Marquis de, opinion of American troops, 98; revisits America, 236.

Lane, Joseph, 363.
Langdon, John, 132.
Latimer, George, 290.
Lawrence, town of, destroyed by pro-slavery mob, 332.
Lecky, W. E. H., view of American taxation, 44.
Lecompton Constitution, 346; Douglas on, 348; contest over, 350; compromise measure, 351.
Lee, Arthur, 99.
Lee, Henry, address on death of Washington, 115.
Lee, Richard Henry, 59; offers motion for Independence, 91; presents southern objections to a tariff, 126.
Lee, Robert E., 380, 383, 414.
Legal-tender act, passed, 386 and note; constitutionality of, 387.
Lewis, Chief-Justice, 195.
Liberator, newspaper. See Garrison.
"Liberty," sloop, destroyed, 49.
Lincoln, Abraham, 301, 309; replies to Douglas, 343; life of, 352; debates with Douglas, 352; Cooper-Union speech, 360; nominated for president, 364; elected, 365; inaugural address, 373; Cabinet, 376; attempts relief of Sumter, 376; on state rights, 381; efforts to retain border States, 389; replies to delegation from Maryland, 390; suspends writ of habeas corpus, 390; Congress legalizes the call for troops, 391; discontent with policy of, 392; war powers of, 392, 395; slavery policy of, 392; emancipation proclamation, 395; approves of colored troops, 396; action in "Trent" affair, 402; the heavy trials of, 405; attempts reconstruction, 408; proclamation of amnesty, 409; refuses to sign congressional amnesty bill, 410; nominated for re-election, 411; answers congratulations, 411; attempts for peace, 412; second inaugural address, 413; death of, 415; character of, 415.
Lincoln, General Benjamin, in Shays's Rebellion, 130.
Lincoln-Douglas debates, 352.
Lincoln, Levi, 190.
Livingston, Robert R., 92, 191.
Livingston, William, 132.
Loan bill of 1861, 386.
Loco-Foco party, 280, 287.
Lodge, Henry Cabot, on John Hancock, 148; on Daniel Webster, 244, 246, 309.
Longfellow, Henry W., 333.
Louisiana, purchase of, 191.
Lowell, James R., on Mexican war, 299; on slavery, 315, 380; on English sympathy for the South, 399; on the "bubble of Democracy," 401; letter to C. E. Norton, 415; from essay on Lincoln, 415.
Lyon, Mathew, 178.

Macaulay, Lord, on the "king's friends," 46.
Macon bill No. 2, 208.
Macon, Nathaniel, 208.
Madison, "Dolly," 206.
Madison, James, on financial situation, 119, 130; knowledge of republican institutions, 131; journal of constitutional convention, 133; 134; proposes representation for slaves, 136; 137; influences Congress to accept constitution, 139; in the Virginia convention, 143; writes papers of *Federalist*, 144; 147; nullification resolves, 179; 185, 190; elected president, 205; life of, 206; friction with British ministers, 207; disturbed foreign relations, 208; Cabinet changes, 210; reëlected, 214; war measury, 214; appoints peace commissioners, 216; close of administration, 219; 241; on right of secession, 258.
Mandamus counsellors, 71.
Mansfield, Lord, on stamp-act, 39.
Marcy, William L., on spoils' system, 254; 326.
Marshall, John, 143; "elastic clause" decision, 154; 176; life of, 185; presides at Burr's trial, 203.
Massachusetts, colony of, 3, 4; suffrage restricted, 12, 15; social and political conditions of, 12, 15; dissatisfaction with restriction of ballot, 16; first representative assembly, 18; charter of, 18; taxation secured to the people, 18; Boston made seat of government, 19; suffrage extended, 20; king grants new charter, 21; refuses to pay governor a fixed salary, 26.
Massachusetts Emigrant Aid Society, 328.
Mason, George, on slavery, 137; 138.
Mason, James M., 402.
May, Rev. Samuel J., 289.
Mayhew, Rev. Jonathan, on communion of colonies, 58.
McCarthy, Justin, on the privateer "Alabama," 404.
McClellan, George B., 411.
McGillivray, Andrew, 156.
McHenry, James, 175.
McMaster, John Bach, on state tariffs, 127; on extravagance of American sympathy with France, 162; on the previous question, 211.
Miller, Phineas, 224.
Mill, John Stuart, 399.
Missouri Compromise, contest in Congress, 225; Maine bill, 227; compromise accepted, 227; repeal of, moved, 320; debate on, 321; signed, 324; opinions on repeal, 324; opinion of Supreme Court on, 340.
Monroe Doctrine, 229.
Monroe, James, 175, 191, 205; secretary of state, 210; life of, 220; successful administration of, 221; visits the

States, 222; signs Missouri Compromise, 228; announces foreign policy of the U. S., 229; vetoes bill relating to Cumberland Road, 234; close of administration, 237.
Morris, Gouverneur, life of, 123; 132; objects to slave representation, 135.
Morris, Robert, life of, 120; establishes Bank of North America, 120; efforts of, to maintain national credit, 124; 132.
Morse, J. T. Jr., on embargo, 200; on J. Q. Adams' candidacy, 236.
Motley, John L., on right of secession, 258.
Murray, William Vans, 181.

Napoleon I., amends treaty, 182; reasons for sale of Louisiana, 192; accepts Macon bill, 209; 221.
Napoleon III., 231; 398.
Native American Party, 293; revived, 332.
Navigation laws, English, 9, 125.
New England, United Colonies of, 16.
New Haven, settlement of, 17.
"New" Naturalization Act, provisions of, 177; 190.
Nicolay and Hay, on republican position, 369; incident of northern armies' entrance into Richmond, 414.
North, Lord, prime minister, 47; must humble America, 51; "Sam Adams' Regiments," 55; remarks on tea tax, 59; introduces retaliatory measures, 63; contempt for colonial union, 69; presents repeal bill, 100; weakness of character of, 101; replies to Fox, 101; receives news of Yorktown, 104; resigns, 105.
Northwest Territory, 109; land ceded to, 110; government organized for, 111.
Nullification Resolves, 179.

Ohio admitted to the union, 190.
Ordinance of 1787, 111.
Oregon Question. See Polk, James K.
Otis, James, on writs of assistance, 27; 31; proposes a congress, 35; ordered sent to England for trial, 49.

Paine, Thomas, "Common Sense," 89.
Pakenham, Mr. (afterward Sir) Richard, 298.
Parker, Theodore, 308, 313.
Paxton, Charles, uses writs of assistance, 27.
Pendleton, George H., 411.
Penn, Richard, 87.
Phillips, Wendell, joins abolition movement, 273; 293, 313, 325; on union meetings, 368.
Pickens, Francis W., 377.

Pickering, Timothy, 175.
Pierce, Franklin, 283, 317; elected, 319; signs Kansas-Nebraska bill, 324; issues proclamation relating to Cuba, 326; 336.
Pinckney, Charles C., 175, 176, 183, 205.
Pitt, William (Lord Chatham), on stamp act, 37; 41, 44; on quartering troops in Boston, 66; on papers of continental Congress, 78; moves address for removal of troops from Boston, 80; introduces bill for repeal of acts objectionable to America, 82; declares America cannot be conquered, 100; 102; last speech and death of, 103.
Pitt, William (the Younger), 103; Burke's epigram on, 105; 117.
Polk, James K., 283, 292, 294; inaugurated, 296; measures of administration of, 296; treatment of Oregon question, 297; efforts to obtain Texas, 298; declares war on Mexico, 299; desires congressional appropriations, 300; reasons for signing Oregon bill, 301; close of administration, 302; 317, 335.
Preston, Captain, 53, 55.
Puritans, of New England, austere faith, 12; restricted suffrage, 12, 15; church government, 13; established common school system in Massachusetts, 13; social conditions, 14, 15.

Quebec act, 64.
Quids, 204.
Quincy, Josiah 55, 219.
Quitman, Governor, 327.

Randolph, Edmund, 132; presents plan of federal government, 133; 138, 143, 149.
Randolph, Sir Edmund, 20.
Randolph, John (of Roanoke), life of, 204; in an exciting debate, 211; on women in Congress, 227; uses term "doughfaces," 229; abuses Adams' administration, 247; duel with Clay, 248.
Randolph, Peyton, 76, 86.
Raymond, Henry J., 323.
Rebellion, Shays', 130; Whiskey insurrection, 154; Indian outbreak in Northwest Territory, 157; Fries' Rebellion, 180.
Refugees, 108.
Regulating bill, 63.
Republican, Democratic. See Democratic party.
Republican party, strengthened by a book, 316; elements of, 327; dubbed Black Republicans, 327; triumph of, 363.
Revere, Paul, 85.
Rhode Island, Providence founded, 17; charter of, 18;

forcing act, 129; late in entering union, 140.
Rhodes, James Ford, on Webster, 309; on returning to slavery Anthony Burns, 326; on Taney's decision, 342.
Richmond, Duke of, 102, 103, 106.
Richmond *Inquirer*, newspaper, on Brooks' attack on Sumner, 331.
Rockingham, Marquis of, 102, 105.
"Romney," English frigate, 49.
Rotch, Benjamin, efforts to land tea at Boston, 60, 62.
Rush, Richard, 231, 232, 242.
Russell, Jonathan, 216.
Russell, Lord, 403, 405.
Rutledge, John, 132.

Sargent, Nathan, on Jackson and U. S. Bank, 266.
Schouler, James, on Hamilton, 196; plea for South, 224; on Jackson and U. S. Bank, 265; on 36th Congress, 359.
Schurz, Carl, on Treaty of Ghent, 217; on Clay, 248, 294.
Schuyler, Elizabeth, 152.
Schuyler, Philip, 82, 152.
Scott, Dred, case of, 337.
Scott, General Winfield S., 262, 301, 302, 317.
Sedition act, 177, 190.
Semmes, Captain Raphael, 404.
Sevier, John, 111.
Seward, William H., 290; on Texas and slavery, 295; on compromise of 1850, 309; on Kansas-Nebraska bill, 321; Rochester speech, 354; 364; letter to wife, 368; 376; advocates evacuation of Sumter, 377; arbitrary arrests ordered by, 391; 395; conduct of Trent affair, 402; 407.
Seymour, Sir Edward, reply to Rev. James Blair, 10.
Shays, Daniel, 130.
Shelburne, Lord, 106.
"Shenandoah," southern privateer, 405.
Sherman, John, 359.
Sherman, Roger, 92, 132; presents Connecticut Compromise, 135.
Sherman, William, T., 414.
Silliman, Professor Benjamin, 329.
Slavery, introduction of, 4; prohibited in Northwest Territory, 111; question of, in constitutional convention, 137; fugitive-slave law, 161; importation of slaves forbidden, 204; why the South desired slavery, 224, 315; abolition movement, 272, 289, 293; anger of the North over return of fugitive slaves, 290; California for freedom, 303; new fugitive-slave law, 312; position of North and South on, 336; Mr. Gaulden's opinion of, 345; status of slaves during Civil War, 392; efforts to free slaves, 393; emancipation proclama-

ton, 395; 13th amendment ratified by the States, 396.
Slidell, John, 298, 344, 402.
Sloane, W. M., on origin of term "Continental," 68.
Smith, Caleb B., 376, 377.
Smith, Gerritt, 355.
Smith, Robert, 190, 210.
Spoliation claims, 182.
Stamp act, signed by king, 32; opposition in America, 36; speeches in Parliament against, 37; repeal of, 41.
Stanton, Edwin M., 371, 408.
State rights, under the constitution, 257; Madison's views of, 258; Motley's views of, 258; Judge Story on, 259.
St. Clair, General, defeated in Indian campaign, 157.
Stephens, Alexander H., on constitution of Confederacy, 366; on secession, 366; life of, 368.
Story, Judge Joseph, on right of secession, 259; on Jackson's inauguration, 253.
Stowe, Harriet Beecher, influence of her book, 316.
Strong, Caleb, 132.
Sub-Treasury, established, 285; law establishing repealed, 287; reëstablished, 297.
Suffolk Resolves, 77.
Suffrage, granted in Virginia, 6; restricted, 7; restricted in New England, 12, 15; dissatisfaction with, 16; restrictions lessened in Massachusetts, 20; in Massachusetts property qualifications only, 21.
Sumner, Charles, 313; on "Uncle Tom's Cabin," 317; life of, 321; on Kansas-Nebraska bill, 321; moves repeal fugitive-slave law, 326; speech on Kansas, 330; assaulted by Brooks, 331.
Sumner, Professor W. G., on J. Q. Adams, 246; on Andrew Jackson, 281.
Sumter, Fort, efforts for relief of, 370, 377; attack on 378.

Taney, Chief Justice Roger B., Dred Scott decision, 337.
Tariff, national tariff proposed, 126; state, 127; of "abominations," 256; of 1832, 261; compromise of 1833, 263; of 1842, 289; of 1846, 296; of 1861, 386.
Taylor, John W., 228.
Taylor, Zachary, 283; in Mexican War, 298; 301; elected, 302; inaugurated, 303; position regarding admission of California, 303, 310; death of, 311; 335.
Texas, settlement of, 278; becomes independent, 279; admitted to the Union, 295.
Thayer, Eli, 328.
Thomas, Senator, moves Missouri Compromise, 227.
Thompson, Jacob, 342, 371.
Tompkins, Daniel D., 221.
Tories, origin of, 31; 43, 88.
Toucey, Isaac, 342.
Town meeting, principles of,

1, 2; to represent the commonwealth of Massachusetts, 49; to deal with Boston Massacre, 54; to prevent landing of tea, 61; address of Boston town meeting on independence, 90.
Townshend, Charles, revenue legislation of, 44, 45, 47.
Townshend Revenue Act, provisions of, 45; 47; repealed, 51, 56.
Treasury Department, lack of funds, 98, 123; organized, 119; expenditures in Civil War, 385; legal tender issues, 386.
Treaty of Paris, 24; French Treaty and Alliance, 99; of Peace with England, 106; territory ceded by, 107; of peace with Morocco, 118; Jay treaty, 167; with France, 181; with Barbary States, 193; of Ghent, 216; Ashburton, 288; of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 300; Clayton-Bulwer, 310.
"Trent," English mail steamer, the "Trent" affair, 402.
Tribune, newspaper, on Lincoln's Cooper-Union speech, 360; on secession, 368.
Trist, N. P., 300.
Tryon, Governor, 57.
Tyler, John, 283, 285; takes oath of office, 287; course regarding national banks, 287; furthers Ashburton Treaty, 288; 289; efforts to gain Texas, 290, 295; 335.
Underground Railroad, 328.
United States, government of, 1; flag of, 88 and note; name of, 92.
Van Buren, John, on Kansas-Nebraska bill, 320.
Van Buren, Martin, 247, 254; in Jackson's cabinet, 256; 268; nominated for president, 280; 283; inaugurated, 284; panic of 1837, 284; 286, 302, 335.
Victoria, Queen, speech from throne January, 1900, 24.
Virginia, social conditions of, 4; ballot granted in, 6; political conditions, 7, 8; suffrage restricted in, 7; resolutions on colonial position, 51; non-importation scheme, 52; presents plan of federal government, 134.
Virginia, West, 389.
Von Holst, Herman E., on Calhoun, 235, 256; on nationalization of slavery, 292; on Calhoun's last speech, 307; on John Brown, 356.
Walker, Francis, on mechanical genius of American people, 119; on conduct of the French, 198.
Walker, Robert J., action in Kansas, 346.
War, Seven Years', 24, 27; expenditures of Seven Years', 28; conditions in England

and America in War of Revolution, 96; with Barbary States, 193; of 1812, 214, 215; Seminole, 231; Mexican, 299; Civil War, fall of Sumter, 378; conditions north and south, 379, 383; loss of States, 193; of 1812, 214, 215; 416; cost of, 385; English sympathy for the South, 398; southern privateers, 403; discontent at the North, 406; draft riot, 407; Proclamation of Amnesty, 409; efforts for peace, 412; close of, 414.

Warren, Dr. Joseph, address on anniversary of Boston Massacre, 72, 73.

Washington, George, 73; appointed commander-in-chief, 86; life of, 86; 89; army troubles, 97; action on the Cincinnati, 108; Newburgh letter, 113; urges soldiers' claims, 114; "Legacy to American People," 115; retires to Mt. Vernon, 115; on lack of unity, 116; 130; chairman constitutional convention, 133, 137; letter on constitution, 142; made president, 145; organizes the government, 146; social features of administration, 147; visits Massachusetts, 148; qualifications for Cabinet officers, 149; 152; puts down Whiskey insurrection, 154; receives Creek Indians, 156; changes in political parties, 157; 159; reëlected president, 160; second term, 162; policy of neutrality, 163; Genêt affair, 164; Jay treaty, 167; opposition to treaty, 168; attacked in *Aurora,* 171; Farewell Message, 172; appointed to command of army, 180; death of, 182; 185, 207.

Wayne, Anthony, breaks power of Indians in Northwest Territory, 157.

Webb, James Watson, 323.

Webster, Daniel, on Ordinance of 1787, 111; memorial address, 243; life of, 244; reply to Hayne, 260; 262, 280, 281, 283, 285; negotiates Ashburton treaty, 288; on abolition movement, 289; 293, 301, 302, 304; 7th of March speech, 307; anger of the North against, 308; 313, 317; death of, 318; 336.

Weed, Thurlow, 323.

Welles, Gideon, 376.

West Point established, 190.

Whigs, rise of party, 31; 43; American cause favored by English Whigs, 102; the new party formed, 280; in Harrison campaign, 285; loss of power, 317, 327.

Whitney, Eli, life of, 223.

Whittier, John G., occasion of the poem "Ichabod," 308; 333.

Wide Awake Clubs, 365.

Wilkes, Captain Charles, in "Trent" affair, 402.

Wilkinson, General, 203.

Williams, Roger, founds Prov-

idence, 17; obtains charter for Rhode Island, 18.
Willis, N. P., 333.
Wilmot Proviso, 300, 303, 335.
Wilson, Henry, on the abrogation of the Missouri Compromise, 324.
Winthrop, John, 18.
Winthrop, Robert C., 301.
Winthrop, Theodore, on march of 7th Regiment, 382.
Wise, Henry A., 357.
Wise, Rev. John, 21.
Wolcott, Oliver, Jr., 175.
Wyandotte, town, 351.

Yancey, William L., 363.

GORDY'S HISTORY OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE UNITED STATES

In Four Volumes.

Vol. I, 1783–1809. *SECOND EDITION, THOROUGHLY REVISED.* 598 pp. 12mo. $1.75, *net, special.*

This volume by itself presents a well-rounded history of the Federal Period. It is intended for the thoughtful reader without much previous knowledge of the subject.

Nation (1st notice): "**May be read not only by beginners, but by almost anybody, with profit.** It is written in a clear and simple style, is entirely non-partisan, and makes the causes of the early party struggles much clearer than many a more elaborate account."

Nation (2d notice): "Four years ago we had an opportunity to pronounce a favorable judgment on it. . . . Now there is much extension in addition to a thorough revision. . . . The opening sentences (no mean criterion often) are of a nature to whet the appetite for what is to come."

Boston Herald: "Dr. Gordy writes easily and vivaciously, and makes his 'parties' as interesting as if they were persons, . . . but his best quality is his impartiality."

Chicago Evening Post: "Most interesting to the student of history. . . . The history of the Federalist party is traced up to its defeat by the Republicans in 1800, the issues then and in the contests that followed being clearly defined and fully explained."

Chicago Tribune: "The book is well worth careful study, for the author's research has been wide and deep, his judgment is good, and he is apparently free from political or sectional bias. The working out of our national destiny between the Jeffersonian party's fear of centralized government and the Hamiltonian party's fear of disorder and injustice from a government of the unthinking rabble, is well set forth in the present volume, which brings the story down to the end of Jefferson's administration."

Public Opinion: "This is the most pretentious book of the kind that has yet been attempted, and in point of detail of treatment and historical comprehensiveness it is not far from the best."

Brooklyn Daily Eagle: "Gives promise of being the most comprehensive and scholarly discussion of the kind that has yet been produced."

World's Work: "A book of first-hand research, useful for reference."

Hartford Courant: "A well-constructed work . . . of great value."

Providence Journal: "The general tone of the book is admirable. On every page careful research is shown. It is, perhaps, not too much to say that it is likely to become a standard work on this subject."

HENRY HOLT & CO. 29 West 23d Street New York

11, '01.

KUHNS'S GERMAN AND SWISS SETTLEMENTS OF COLONIAL PENNSYLVANIA

A Study of the So-called Pennsylvania Dutch.

By Oscar Kuhns, *Member of the Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution, of the Pennsylvania-German Society, and of the Lancaster County Historical Society.* 268 pp. 12mo. $1.50.

"All that is best in their history is compressed into this little volume, and even their defenders will be surprised to learn how much romance there is in the story of their sufferings in the Palatinate, and how much spiritual exaltation there was back of their emigration to America. . . . The author's account of the religious faith and feeling of the German Quakers is written with great sympathy and insight, and his apology for the deep-seated conservatism of the Pennsylvania Dutch is skillfully made."—*Outlook.*

"An historical work of peculiar and capital interest. . . . A chapter in modern history, particularly in American history, which Americans in whatever part of the country cannot afford to be ignorant of. . . . The writer has managed with extraordinary skill to infuse into his narrative the constant element of personal interest, so that the whole story is **transfused with the spirit of a fascinating romance.**"—*Chicago Evening Post.*

"Ein erschöpfendes Bild jener einwanderung, dass sich durch sachliche Ruhe und Unparteilichkeit auszeichnet und einer ausführlichen Besprechung werth ist. . . . So interessant auch die Ausführungen des Verfassers über die vielen Sekten sind, die theils sich hier niederlieszen, theils hier gebildet wurden, so können wir ihm darin nicht folgen."—*N. Y. Staats-Zeitung.*

"No more exhaustive account of the origin, emigration and subsequent history of the early German and Swiss settlers in Pennsylvania than this has yet been issued. . . . The appendix concerning the change in form undergone by many Pennsylvania-German family names, the bibliography, and index contribute greatly to the interest and practical importance of Mr. Kuhns's valuable monograph."—*Philadelphia Ledger.*

"It is a first-rate service to the cause of American history which Oscar Kuhns has rendered in his popular yet scholarly book. . . . An exceedingly interesting and instructive story."—*Chicago Record-Herald.*

McCRACKAN'S RISE OF THE SWISS REPUBLIC

A History. By W. D. McCrackan. *Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged.* x + 423 pp. 8vo. $2.00.

"This is the most convenient and serviceable book in English on Swiss history and development, and America has much to learn from the experience of our sister republic."—*Prof. Albert B. Hart, of Harvard.*

"It seems to me that you have happily blended the picturesque treatment which some parts of Swiss history demand, with the object of bringing out the political lesson of the last thirty or fifty years. I trust your book may do much to show our people, as well as yours, how much is to be learned from a study of Swiss affairs."—*The Right Hon. James Bryce, M.P.*

"All things considered, this history seems to me to be far and away the best Swiss history ever yet published in English."—*English Historical Review.*

HENRY HOLT & CO. 29 West 23d Street New York

VI '01

SECOND IMPRESSION.

FORD'S THE FEDERALIST.

Edited by PAUL LEICESTER FORD, editor of the writings of Jefferson; Bibliography of the Constitution of the United States, 1787–1788; Pamphlets on the Constitution of the United States. lxxvii + 793 pp. Large 12mo. $1.75, *net*.

The present edition is the first in which any attempt has been made to illustrate, in foot-notes, not merely the obscure passages in the text, but also the subsequent experience of the United States and other countries where they relate to the views expressed by the authors. The most authentic text has been used; the antiquated and often absurd punctuation—largely due to incompetent early printers—has been rationalized; and an introduction, abundant cross-references, and a *full index* materially increase the value of this edition for both students and lawyers. Matter of obsolete or minor interest has been put in distinctive type. An appendix of 149 pages contains The Constitution with all the amendments, and the references to U. S. Reports, besides other documents important in constitutional developement.

Roger Foster, author of Commentaries on the Constitution: "The best edition of *The Federalist* that has been published."

Right Hon. James Bryce: "Far the best [edition] I have seen, and the most likely to be useful to students of political science."

New York Tribune: "Mr. Ford's editing is nothing less than perfect. . . . Printed handsomely and published in a convenient size, this is an invaluable edition, calculated to be of service not only to the politician and lawyer, but to every thoughtful citizen."

Review of Reviews: "Mr. Ford has the habit of thoroughness in a very remarkable degree; . . . not only great ability, but rare opportunities and invaluable experience. . . . A soundly edited text; . . . an introductory essay which really puts the touch of finality upon questions that have been in dispute for nearly a century. . . . For the purposes of critical study and precise reference Mr. Ford's edition, it seems to us, must of necessity exclude all others. Quite apart from the extremely valuable editorial work included in the introductory part of the volume, Mr. Ford's index (*The Federalist* has never before been indexed) would entitle him to a vote of thanks by Congress."

Prof. Edward G. Bourne, of Yale: "The most useful edition for the working student."

The Dial: "Mr. Paul Leicester Ford has many titles to the gratitude of students interested in American history, and none more clear than that which is due him for his edition of *The Federalist*. . . . The work is admirably done in all important respects, and should be upon the desk of every teacher of American constitutional history."

Prof. Carl Evans Boyd, of University of Chicago: "His edition leaves nothing to be desired, and will undoubtedly become the standard."

The Outlook: "A singularly illuminative introduction; . . . one of the best planned and most valuable contributions ever made towards the clearer understanding of our history."

HENRY HOLT & CO., 29 West 23d Street, New York.

ALDEN'S ART OF DEBATE

By Dr. R. M. ALDEN, Univ. of Pennsylvania. xv + 279 pp. 16mo. $1.00, *net*.

Prof. George B. Churchill, *Amherst College:* "I think it is by far the best book we have on this subject for college or general use. It is methodical, careful and full. While comprehensive, it is easily grasped, which cannot be said of all the discussions in some of the best recent books on Argumentation."

Prof F. N. Scott, *University of Michigan:* "It is a fresh and interesting treatment of the subject, packed with ideas expressed in a most delightful and taking way."

RINGWALT'S AMERICAN ORATORY

Selections, with introduction and notes by RALPH C. RINGWALT, formerly Instructor in Columbia University. 334 pp. 12mo. $1.00, *net*.

Contains Schurz's *General Amnesty*, Jeremiah S. Black's *Trial by Jury*, Phillips's *Daniel O' Connell*, Depew's *Inauguration of Washington*, Curtis's *The Leadership of Educated Men*, Henry W. Grady's *The New South, and* Beecher's *The Sepulchre in the Garden.*

Prof. F. N. Scott, *University of Michigan:* "An extremely sensible book."

Prof. D. L. Maulsby, *Tufts College:* "The opening essay is the best on its subject that I have seen of recent years. It shows grasp on both the early and later literature of the subject, and is thoroughly alive to modern conditions."

Prof. A. G. Newcomer, *Leland Stanford University:* "The essay on the theory of oratory is one of the most sensible and at the same time stimulating essays of the kind I have ever seen."

WAGNER'S MODERN POLITICAL ORATIONS (BRITISH)

Edited by LEOPOLD WAGNER. xv + 344 pp. 12mo. $1.00, *net*.

A collection of some of the most notable examples of the political oratory of the present reign. Includes Brougham on Negro Emancipation; Fox and Cobden on the Corn Laws; Bright on the Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act; Butt and Morley on Home Rule; Gladstone on the Beaconsfield Ministry; Parnell on the Coercion Bill; and others by Beaconsfield, Russell, Randolph Churchill, Chamberlain, Macaulay, Bulwer-Lytton, McCarthy, etc., etc.

POLITICAL PAMPHLETS

By Burke, Steele, Saxby, Halifax, Arbuthnot, Swift, Bolingbroke, and "Junius." Edited by A. F. POLLARD. Bound in one volume. *Pamphlet Library.* 12mo. Cloth, $1.75, *net, special.*

The Nation: "The selections are very well chosen. . . . Deserves well of book-buyers in point of matter and form."

HENRY HOLT & CO. 29 West 23d Street New York

v, '01

LAVIGNAC'S MUSIC AND MUSICIANS

By Prof. ALBERT LAVIGNAC, of the Paris Conservatory, author of *The Music Dramas of Richard Wagner*. Edited for America by H. E. KREHBIEL, author of *How to Listen to Music*, and translated by WILLIAM MARCHANT. With 94 illustrations and 510 examples in musical notation. *2d Edition.* 504 pp. 8vo. $3.00.

"It is impossible to speak too highly of this volume" (*Literary Review*, Boston).—"The most comprehensive reference-work on music published in a single volume and accessible to readers of English" (*Review of Reviews*).—"An encyclopædia from which all manner of curious facts may be drawn" (*Literary World*).—"A musical library in itself" (*Chicago Tribune*).—"A cyclopædia of knowledge concerning his art" (*Christian Register*).—"It adds a great deal that the student of music is not likely to get elsewhere" (*Springfield Republican*).—"The most complete and perfect work of its kind" (*The Home Journal*, New York).—"For the musical student and music teacher invaluable if not indispensable" (*Buffalo Commercial*).—"He has apportioned his pages with rare good judgment" (*Churchman*).—"It is of all things thorough" (*Brooklyn Eagle*).—"There is nothing superficial about it" (*Hartford Courant*).—"It has a reliability and authority which give it the highest value" (*Chicago Tribune*).—"Distinctly scientific" (*Providence Journal*).—"It seems to have been his desire to let no interesting topic escape. . . . The wonder is that those parts of the book which ought to be dry are so readable. . . . A style which can fairly be described as fascinating" (*N. Y. Times*).—"Free from superfluous technicalities" (*Providence Journal*).—"He has covered the field with French clarity and German thoroughness" (*Springfield Republican*).—"Not too technical to be exceedingly useful and enjoyable to every intelligent reader" (*Hartford Courant*).—"Lightened with interesting anecdotes" (*Brooklyn Eagle*).—"He writes brilliantly: even the laziest or most indifferent will find that he chains the attention and makes a perusal of the history of music a delightful recreation" (*N. Y. Home Journal*).

Circular on application.

LUCAS' THE OPEN ROAD

A little book for wayfarers, bicycle-wise and otherwise. Compiled by E. V. LUCAS. With illustrated cover-linings. Green and gold flexible covers. 12mo. $1.50.

Some 125 poems and 25 prose passages, representing over 60 authors, including Fitzgerald, Shelley, Shakespeare, Kenneth Grahame, Stevenson, Whitman, Bliss Carman, Browning, William Watson, Keats, Wordsworth, Matthew Arnold, Tennyson, William Morris, Maurice Hewlett, Izaak Walton, William Barnes, Herrick, Dobson, Lamb, Milton, Whittier, etc.

LUCAS' A BOOK OF VERSES FOR CHILDREN

Over 200 poems, representing some 80 authors. With title-page and cover-lining pictures in color, and cover in three colors and gilt. *Revised Edition.* 12mo. $2.00.

Chicago Evening Post: "Will interest the old hardly less than the young."

Critic: "We know of no other anthology for children so complete and well arranged."

Descriptive circular on application.

HENRY HOLT & CO. 29 West 23d Street New York

III., 1900

"More entertaining than any fiction."
—*Literary World.*

3d Impression of a remarkable book that is attracting attention in the United States, Great Britain, and Germany.

THE COURTOT MEMOIRS

The Memoirs of the Baroness Cecile de Courtot, Lady-in-Waiting to the Princess de Lamballe. Edited by MORITZ VON KAISENBERG. Translated by Miss JESSIE HAYNES. 298 pp. 8vo. $2.00.

This notable narrative of the love and adventures of the Baroness includes remarkably vivid descriptions of France during the Terror, Prussia under Frederick William III. and the beautiful Queen Louise, and France under the all-powerful First Consul.

N. Y. Times Saturday Review: "It has all the charm of a good historical novel. . . . The entire volume will be found of much interest, mainly through the great human interest centring around the friendship of these two devoted women, Cecile and Annaliebe, as well as through the historical details introduced, which are all graphically and fully treated."

Outlook: "This delightful Memoir. . . . Some of the most interesting impressions of the great ruler [Napoleon] which have yet appeared. The Memoir reads like a novel."

N. Y. Tribune: "The book is one of the strangest and most amusing ever produced in the department of revolutionary literature. . . . The Baroness is charming, and has much to say about many interesting personalities and events."

Pall Mall Gazette (*London*): "We are admitted behind the scenes and mingle with the actors in perhaps the most powerful drama the world has ever witnessed. . . . A most fascinating book. **Here is a period that we have read about from our youth up . . . and we might almost say that we see it now for the first time.**"

Home Journal: "The pages are certainly of unusual interest, showing intimacy with personages and places, and throwing such light on them that we seem to see them almost as if we were eye-witnesses. . . . Filled with tragedy and romance."

HENRY HOLT & CO. 29 West 23d Street New York
VII, 1900

42d Impression of a New York Novel

THE HON. PETER STIRLING

AND WHAT PEOPLE THOUGHT OF HIM

By PAUL LEICESTER FORD. 12mo, cloth. $1.50.

The Nation: "Floods of light on the *raison d'être*, origin, and methods of the dark figure that directs the destinies of our cities. . . . So strongly imagined and logically drawn that it satisfies the demand for the appearance of truth in art. . . . Telling scenes and incidents and descriptions of political organization, all of which are literal transcripts of life and fact—not dry irrelevancies thrown in by way of imparting information, but lively detail, needful for a clear understanding of Stirling's progress from the humble chairmanship of a primary to the dictator's throne. . . . In the use of dramatic possibilities Mr. Ford is discreet and natural, and without giving Stirling a heroic pose, manages to win for him very hearty sympathy and belief. Stirling's private and domestic story is well knit with that of his public adventures. . . . A very good novel."

The Atlantic Monthly: "Commands our very sincere respect; . . . there is no glaring improbability about his story; . . . the highly dramatic crisis of the story. . . . The tone and manner of the book are noble. . . . A timely, manly, thoroughbred, and eminently suggestive book."

The Review of Reviews: "His relations with women were of unconventional sincerity and depth. . . . Worth reading on several accounts."

The Dial: "One of the strongest and most vital characters that have appeared in our fiction. . . . A very charming love story. To discern the soul of good in so evil a thing as municipal politics calls for sympathies that are not often united with a sane ethical outlook; but Peter Stirling is possessed of the one without losing his sense of the other, and it is this combination of qualities that make him so impressive and admirable a figure. . . . Both a readable and an ethically helpful book."

The New York Tribune: "A portrait which is both alive and easily recognizable."

The New York Times: "Mr. Ford's able political novel."

The Literary World: "A fine, tender love story. . . . A very unusual, but, let us believe, a possible character. . . . Peter Stirling is a man's hero. . . . Very readable and enjoyable."

The Independent: "Full of life. The interest never flags. . . . It is long since we have read a better novel or one more thoroughly and naturally American."

The Boston Advertiser: "Sure to excite attention and win popularity."

The Brooklyn Eagle: "A love and labor story; . . . terribly picturesque. . . . Abundance of humor."

The Baltimore Sun: "The team of politics and love drive very well together. . . . Mr. Ford has created a very effective character under very difficult circumstances."

HENRY HOLT & CO., 29 West 23d Street New York

2d Impression of

THE FORTUNE OF WAR

By Miss ELIZABETH BARROW. 12mo. $1.25.

A vivid romance, the scene of which is laid in New York City during the British Occupation in the Revolution.

N. Y. Times Saturday Review: "The story is a good one, the historical data accurate, and the ways and manners of the period are cleverly presented. . . . **The love plot is absorbing**, and will be found by many readers even more fascinating than the faithful reproduction of the manners and customs of the time. . . . It is quite safe to say that this book vies in excellence with some of the historical romances which have caused more general comment. No doubt **it will gradually grow into a larger popularity.**

The Outlook: "Miss Elizabeth Barrow has done her work not only well, but delightfully well."

The Independent: "A short tale, and a very good one. . . . A story of the Revolutionary War, romantic to a degree and very charmingly told."

Chicago Times-Herald: "Another tale of the time of Washington, but one that is more deserving both of popular and critical appreciation than some of the much-vaunted financial successes."

Springfield Republican: "It gives a good picture of New York City as it was in the eighteenth century. . . . The story is agreeable reading."

Hartford Courant: "She has done good work in her romance; . . . it is told in a very attractive way. . . . The book is decidedly one that will entertain."

Christian Register: "Miss Barrow has been successful in depicting the condition of New York City at the time the British were quartered there. . . It is a bright, pleasant tale."

The Churchman: "The book furnishes an interesting sidelight upon the estimation in which the Americans were held by the upper classes of the British through the greater part of the Revolutionary struggle."

HENRY HOLT & CO. 29 West 23d Street New York

xii. 1000

C 15· 80

OCT 79
N. MANCHESTER,
INDIANA 46962

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
0 011 528 741 2